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ABSTRACT

The journal IDEAL is intended as a forum for research into the acquisiton and teaching of English as a Second Language. Volume 4 contains the following articles: "Pragmatics and Reading in a Second Language" (Patricia L. Carrell); "English Across Cultures: Native English Speaker in the Third World" (P.B. Nayar); "Pragmatic Analysis in the Second Language Classroom" (Jeff Connor-Linton); "An Analysis of the Rhetorical Structures of English and Japanese Editorials" (Thomas Ricento); "A Comparison of Narrative Structures of English-Speaking and Spanish Speaking Students" (Delma McLeod Porter); "Identifying Referents in Narrative Discourse: A Comparison of the Acquisition of Pronominal and Zero Anaphora by Native and Non-Native Speakers of English" (Erica McClure); "A Discourse Analysis of Relative Clauses in Chinese and English: An Error in 'An Error in Error Analysis'" (Lawrence F. Bouton); "Yes/No Questions in ESL Textbooks and Classrooms" (Jessica Williams); and "Oh Darn! I'd Love to Come, but I Already Have Plans: Television Invitations as Conversation Models" (Ann Salzmann). Volume 5 contains the following articles: "Video-Based Materials for Communicative ITA (International Teaching Assistant) Training" (Elizabeth Axelson and Carolyn Madden); "The Aural Perception of Fast-Speech Phenomena" (Inn-Chull Choi); "Learning Styles of Mainland Chinese Students of English" (Carolyn Dirksen); "English <S>: Cracking a Symbol-Sound Code" (Wayne B. Dickerson); "Theoretical Linguistics and Applied Linguistics Research: Perspectives on Their Relationship to Language Pedagogy" (Molly Mack); and "A Multimodal Paradigm for TESL: Implications for the Classroom and Beyond" (Frances K. Vavrus). Volume 6 contains the following articles: "Request-Compliance/Non-Compliance in English and Italian Public Service Encounters" (Anna Ciliberti); "A Sensitive Period for Second Language Acquisition: A Reaction-Time Grammaticality Judgement Task with Korean-English Bilinguals" (Ryonhee Kim); "Multilingualism and Social Identity: The Case of Singapore" (Knonko M. Kamwangamalu); "Sensitive Periods for Second Language Acquisition: A Reaction-Time Study of Korean-English Bilinguals" (Rosa Jinyong Shim); "An Analysis of Televised Telephone Conversations" (Nina Skokut); and "The Pragmatics of 'No!': Some Strategies in English and Arabic" (Paul B. Stevens). (LB)

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Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL)

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

IDEAL is intended as a forum for research into the acquisition and teaching of English as a second language. Articles, review articles and reviews in any of the following areas are welcome: Teaching English as a second language, second language acquisition, varieties of English, neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, applications of computer technology to second language teaching and research. It is especially important that contributions of a theoretical nature make explicit the practical implications of the research they report.

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Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL)

Aspects of Pragmatics and Language Learning

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INTRODUCTION

The papers in this volume focus on different aspects of pragmatics and discourse analysis as those two overlapping disciplines relate to language learning and language pedagogy. They have been selected from those presented at the 2nd Annual Conference on Pragmatics and Language Learning held at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) in April, 1988. The coverage begins with Patricia L. Carrell's detailed exploration of the relationship between pragmatics and reading in a second language; it ends with a highly practical discussion of how to gather and use examples from television that illustrate pragmatically effective interaction. In between, we find comparisons of both narrative and expository writing by students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, a discourse based comparison of the use of relative clauses in Chinese and English, a study of various means of investigating the cross-cultural use of implicature, and a demonstration of the overly simplistic treatment normally afforded Yes/No questions in ESL texts and classrooms. All of this will provide a language teacher interested in pragmatics or a pragmatist attuned to language learning and teaching with a broad range of challenging, pragmatically stimulating reading.

The first paper, Carrell's "Pragmatics and Reading in a Second Language," is a comprehensive treatment of the subject area. Carrell argues that many of the notions associated with investigations of the pragmatics of oral communication actually apply to "language processing in general, regardless of the medium or the mode." Written texts, she says, "invite inferences, evoke conversational implicatures, [and] often require that such inferences be made before [those texts] can be said to have been comprehended." Of course, this close relation between reading theory and pragmatics should come as no surprise, since reading is "an interactive process wherein the reader's prior background knowledge interacts with the properties of and the information in the text." From this perspective, it is easy to see that many of the factors that affect oral interaction will affect the reading process as well: the backgrounds of the author and the reader; the linguistic, stylistic and content schema that each brings to the experience; their expectations concerning the responsibilities of the author and the reader, etc. Having established these basic concepts, Carrell discusses what recent research has to say about such topics as the the relative ease with which one reads material on a subject and in a style with which one is familiar and the near impossibility of finding general reading materials that are equally accessible to everyone, how readers from different backgrounds interact with a text, and the reading/writing connection. Ultimately, she argues, "second language reading research and pedagogy must consider all that the reader needs to know (including content and formal schemata, as well as linguistic knowledge) and, in addition, how to strategically apply such knowledge in the reading process (including cognitive processes, and metacognitive awareness." For Carrell, the inherent interrelationship of pragmatics and reading research is clear.

P. B. Nayar's "English Across Cultures: Native English Speaker in the Third World," is forcefully written and brings a new perspective to the discussion of an old issue - the need of native English speakers to learn to adapt to the Third World cultures in which they may find themselves living temporarily. Coming from the Third World and having lived and taught there for many years, Nayar speaks with the authority of experience. The problems that Nayar describes as the result of the innocent but misguided behavior of native English speakers in cross-cultural interaction with members of the Third World, along with the explanations that he gives for the trouble that arises, have a definite ring of reality. "The monocultural English speakers' naivete regarding the sociocultural and technological 'values gap' between themselves and their hosts significantly affects their attitudes, interaction, and the methods, materials and techniques they adopt," argues Nayar. Even when the Third World hosts seem to speak the same language, i.e., English, they do not relate to that language the same way the native English speakers do. The ability to come to grips with these cultural and linguistic differences, and an awareness of the implications raised by the fact that English has now become a world language - these things must be the focus of effective pre-sojourn training, he argues.

Jeff Connor-Linton, in his "Pragmatic Analysis in the Second Language Classroom," reports on a project in which ESL students were taught to incorporate aspects of the pragmatics of written communication into their own efforts at writing and into their analysis and criticism of the writing of others. The difficulty second language speakers have in communicating in writing stems as much from their failure to understand the pragmatic implications of what they write as from problems with English grammar or essay structure, he argues. Then he sets out to demonstrate how the students can be brought to understand the pragmatic impact of different rhetorical tools by guiding them as they analyze selected articles and student papers. Most important, he says, is helping the students develop a persona, their own voice, vis a vis their particular audience and the subject about which they are writing.

Thomas Ricento's "An Analysis of the Rhetorical Structures of English and Japanese Editorials" provides us with interesting insights along two different themes. First, he offers us a tightly executed comparison of the rhetorical structure found in two regular columns from the Japanese newspaper Asahi Shimbun and in a number of editorials from various major American newspapers. Then, having distinguished the styles of the two Japanese columns from each other and from their American counterparts, Ricento turns to an experiment in which native speakers of Japanese and of English were tested to see to what extent they could recognize the rhetorical structure of specific editorials from those different newpapers. All subjects were given both American editorials and Japanese editorials translated into English; in addition, the Japanese subjects were given editorials in Japanese. The results of this experiment are interesting, somewhat surprising at times, and should definitely stimulate discussion among those teaching composition and reading skills to Japanese ESL students.

Thelma McLeod Porter's paper is the first of two in this volume that compare aspects of narrative writing by Spanish speakers learning English and native English speakers. Porter's contribution, "A Comparison of Narrative Structures of English-speaking and Spanish-speaking Students" focuses on the extent to which each of these groups includes an abstract, an orientation component, an evaluation, a resolution, and a coda in their narratives, and on the way in which each group uses these different narrative structures. Porter's conclusion after a comprehensive, carefully written and well documented discussion of her results: "Though it is clear that the structures that make up narratives do occur in the stories written by both native and non-native speakers of English, the subtle differences that exist in the ways that the different writers use these structures merit study."

The second paper comparing narrative writing of native speakers of Spanish and English is Erica McClure's "Identifying Referents in Narrative Discourse: A Comparison of the Acquisition of Pronominal and Zero Anaphora by Native and Non-native Speakers of English." The subjects in this study are monolingual American and bilingual Mexican children at the sixth and twelfth grade levels. But as in her earlier papers growing out of her continuing research into the narrative and linguistic skills of these subjects, McClure does not limit herself to comparisons between native Spanish and native English speakers, but also is constantly alert to the possibility that age may also be a factor influencing the various patterns that she finds. For instance, she finds that "sixth graders definitely pronominalize more than twelfth graders, and non-native speakers pronominalize more than native speakers." And so McClure's often rather complex, well supported results tend to bridge the gap that has sometimes existed between those arguing for L1 transfer as the major source of difficulty for ESL students and those claiming that intralanguage complexity is at the root of such difficulty.

Rong Zhao's "A Discourse Analysis of Relative Clauses in Chinese and English: An Error in 'An Error in Error Analysis,'" also provides evidence of the effect of L1 transfer during the process of language learning, but transfer with a slightly different twist. Shao's argument is that the tendency of Chinese learning English not to use relative clauses is not an avoidance strategy, but rather results from the fact that relative clauses occur much less frequently in Chinese than they do in English. It is this infrequent use and the different distribution of the relative clause that the Chinese are transferring in this case, along with other ways of saying the same thing that are more compatible with the tendencies of their native language.

With Lawrence F. Bouton's "So They Got the Message, But How Did They Get It?" we move to a different aspect of pragmatics in relation to language learning. After briefly reviewing Grice's Principle of Cooperation and the attendant maxims, Bouton raises the question of whether conversational implicatures arising from violations of those maxims can be an effective tool of cross-cultural communication and suggests that question needs to be carefully investigated. He then discusses three earlier attempts to determine the extent to which people from one culture can derive implicatures initiated by members of another. Two of these used instruments consisting of open ended questions; the third, conducted by Bouton himself, employed a multiple choice format. All demonstrated that people from different language and linguistic backgrounds tend to produce significantly different results on tests designed to study their ability to interpret implicatures, whether those tests follow the open ended or the multiple choice format. But, asks Bouton, how accurately can the data from these different types of question be evaluated? And what is it exactly that these tests test? It is the purpose of his paper to try to answer those questions using a multiple choice test plus a posttest interview.

Next, Jessica Williams, in her "Yes/No Questions in ESL Textbooks and Classrooms," shows us that there is an important gap in the treatment of Yes/No questions in ESL textbooks. Native speakers of English, she notes, frequently employ Yes/No questions in which there is no inversion of subject and operator, as well as others in which the operator has been deleted, e.g., "He wanna get a pizza, too?" Furthermore, she cites Long (1981) as claiming that both of these types of Yes/No question occur frequently in the foreigner talk that native speakers use with the nonnatives. Yet, says Williams, neither of these two types of Yes/No questions are anywhere to be found in ESL textbooks, nor are they common in the classroom language of the teachers. The result, argues Williams, "may lead SLLs to formulate incorrect or only partially correct hypotheses regarding language use," in this case the use of different forms of the Yes/No question.

The final paper in this volume, Ann Salzmann's "Oh Darn! I'd Love to Come, But I Already Have Plans: Television Invitations as Conversation Models," is a type that we need to see many more of. In it, Salzmann leads us through the paths she followed as she learned how to adapt what we are now discovering about the pragmatics of interaction to the language classroom. First, she sets the stage briefly by reminding us what writers such as Goffman, Levinson, Hatch, and Wolfson are saying about different aspects of interaction and the importance of helping language learners become more proficient in it. But when Salzmann looks for examples with which to illustrate the different facets of interaction that she wants to teach her students, she finds those in her texts inadequate. Nor, she argues, does she have the time or the equipment with which to search out and record exactly what she needs by observing everyday conversation. Instead, she turns to television soap operas, and lists for us five "compelling reasons to investigate television as a source of models." Finally, she describes actual examples of invitations and their responses, showing us at the same time that they seem authentic in that they sound perfectly natural to the viewer and are compatible with what scholars have told us about how such things work. What's more, as a bonus, there were sometimes devices that characters used in the soap operas that seemed perfectly natural to Salzmann and others, and these she could add to the list of such devices that she had gleaned from the literature of the field. One thing that does come through in Salzmann's discussion of what she has done: it seems to have taken a great deal of work! But, judging from her paper, it was work worth doing, and more of it should be done.

Lawrence F. Bouton
Coeditor

IDEAL 4, 1989

PRAGMATICS AND READING IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

Patricia L. Carrell

This paper explores the relationships between pragmatics and reading in a second language. After a brief introduction reviewing the recent history of pragmatics and the author's involvement with pragmatics, the relationship between pragmatics and reading is explored from the perspective of *learning to read* in order to *read to learn*. Second language reading is then discussed in terms of three current and major research areas: (1) cognitive processing and research on content and formal schemata, (2) cognitive processing and readers' cognitive strategies and metacognition, and (3) the reading-writing connection.

PRAGMATICS

In searching for a formal definition of pragmatics to use as the basis for leading into a discussion of the relationships between pragmatics and reading and reading in a second language, I wanted a more complete definition than to simply say that pragmatics is the study of language use and communication. A review of Chapter 1 of Levinson's *Pragmatics* (1983), yielded a number of different definitions of the field. These definitions range from rather limited definitions of pragmatics as grammatically encoded aspects of context or as an equation of pragmatics with 'meaning minus semantics,' to broader definitions involving notions of 'appropriateness' and broad theories of language understanding and use. Levinson's various definitions show pragmatics to include, at a minimum, consideration of deixis, conversational implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and conversational structure. The more I considered the various aspects of pragmatics covered in Levinson, the more I was reminded of the development of my own interests in pragmatics. Thus, I concluded that instead of trying to state a formal definition of pragmatics, perhaps a better way to get into pragmatics and from pragmatics into reading and reading in a second language would be to simply tell about the history and evolution of my own interest in pragmatics and how I got involved with second language reading through an interest in pragmatics. (Besides, Levinson concludes that chapter by saying that there are no entirely satisfactory definitions and that if one really wants to know what a particular field is concerned with one must simply observe what practitioners in that field do.)

I began my career as a trained theoretical linguist, a syntactician, in the heyday of Transformational Grammar and of the Extended Standard Theory and Generative Semantics, in the late 60s and 70s. The latter school, as is well-known, not only argued for the non-autonomy of syntax from semantics, but in the 70s also began calling attention to the interrelationships among syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Even the old-standby, the passive transformation and the relationship between active and passive sentences, was reexamined, not only in terms of the syntactic relationships among the surface elements of active and passive sentences and in terms of the truth-value semantic relationships between active and passive sentences (the fact that under whatever conditions it would be either true or false to say "John kicked the ball" it would be equally true or false to say "The ball was kicked by John"), but also in terms of the topic-comment relationships between active and passive sentences (the fact that in the active sentence "John" is the topic, while in the passive sentence "the ball" is the topic). Similarly the "context dependency" or so-called "stylistic" function of other transformations --- e.g., particle movement, extraposition, ... was reexamined not only in terms of truth-value semantics, but in terms of pragmatic, contextual, considerations.

At the same time, from the philosophical and logical traditions -- most specifically from the writings of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the field (and I along with it) became interested in speech acts, especially the illocutionary act performed in a speech act, in the distinction between explicit and implicit performative utterances (e.g., "I bet you $10 Bush will win the Republican nomination," versus "Bush will win the Republican nomination"), in direct versus indirect speech acts ("Please pass the salt," versus "Could you pass the salt"), and in conventional and non-conventional speech acts ("Can you pass the salt" versus "This soup could sure stand some seasoning"). There also developed a concern with questions of the relationships between sentences such as "The cat is on the mat," and "The mat is under the cat," and "The present king of France is bald," and "There exists a present king of France." -- i.e., with questions of entailment and of presupposition. This lead to consideration of other meaning relationships between and among sentences, not all of which could be considered "strictly logical." For example, "I´ll pay you $20 if you mow the grass," conversationally but not logically implies that "If you don´t mow the grass, I won´t pay you $20." Grice (1975) proposed the cooperative principle, and showed how exploiting or flouting its attendant maxims ("Be truthful," "Be clear," "Be informative -- but not too informative," and "Be relevant") could bring about conversational implicatures of various kinds -- for example, scarcasm or irony. At about the same time, the sociolinguist Dell Hymes (1972) was articulating and advocating the notion of "communicative competence" which goes beyond the more limited type of competence articulated by Chomsky in his competence-performance distinction.

This expansion of the bounds of linguistics into the area of pragmatics and communicative competence as legitimate areas for inquiry was widely and warmly embraced by second language theorists, researchers, and classroom teachers who found in these notions ideas sympathetic to the goals of preparing second language learners who are not only "grammatically," but also communicatively and pragmatically, competent. The impact of pragmatics on second language teaching and learning has been most evident in the work on communicative competence and the development of communicative language teaching and functional/notional syllabuses, as well as in the work on various types of speech acts (indirect requests, apologies, invitations, compliments, suggestions, to mention only some of the most widely studied speech acts). Some of my own early research in pragmatics and ESL has involved empirical investigation of processing differences between presupposed and asserted information (Carrell, 1977, 1978), and empirical investigation of indirect requests (Flick & Carrell, 1978; Carrell, 1981a; Carrell & Konneker, 1981) and indirect answers

(Carrell, 1979). The latter study, one of my earliest in ESL, investigated non-native adult speakers' abilities to understand the meaning conveyed by indirect answers to questions. (E.g., "Did you mop the floor?" "Well, I swept it.") However, most of the interest in pragmatics and second language teaching and learning has been focused on the oral skills, listening and speaking, and not as much on the written skills of reading and writing. This may be because the field of second language study has been preoccupied lately with speaking and listening, and has in general devoted much less attention to reading and writing. This is especially true of ESL in this country; it is less true of EFL abroad and of foreign language education in this country.

As I became involved with pragmatics, I was struck by the relevance of its notions not only for oral language processing, but for language processing in general, regardless of the medium or the mode. Written texts, just like oral texts, indirectly convey much meaning beyond their literal semantic interpretation. They not only invite inferences, or evoke "conversational implicatures," often they require that such inferences be made before they can be said to have been comprehended. Some texts clearly show the amount of inferencing and of additional, background knowledge which the reader has to bring to bear in order to understand the implicitly, indirectly conveyed meaning of a text. Consider the following text:

"John knew his wife's operation would be expensive. There was always Uncle Harry. John reached for the suburban telephone book." (Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977, p. 116)

Consider what is going on as you mentally process this text. Think about how you would answer the following questions, and what enables you to do so: What is John going to do with the telephone book? [He is going to use it to look up Uncle Harry's telephone number.] Why is he looking up Uncle Harry's phone number? [Because he wants to telephone Uncle Harry.] Why is he going to call Uncle Harry? [Because he thinks Uncle Harry can help him.] How does he think Uncle Harry can help him? [He thinks uncle Harry may be able to give or lend him the money he needs for his wife's operation.]

In fact, it was texts like this one, and the realization of the types of information even native speakers must bring to the reading task, coupled with observations about cross-cultural difficulties which ESL students frequently have in their comprehension of texts (both assigned reading of specifically prepared ESL materials as well as of naturally-occurring, authentic texts) which lead to my current interests in ESL reading and in the interaction between text-based variables and reader-based variables. If one recognizes that a text exists in a given linguistic and rhetorical form and is about a given topic relaying certain information, and that a reader comes to a text with his/her own linguistic, formal and content schemata, one must view reading not only as an active, but an interactive process wherein the reader's prior background knowledge interacts with the properties of and the information in the text. Reading is a dynamic process of constructing meaning, not merely reconstructing meaning.

LEARNING TO READ - READING TO LEARN

Our task in second language reading is to do whatever is necessary and whatever we can in the teaching of second language reading so that our students will learn to read in their second language (e.g., English as a second language) in such a way that they may use this acquired skill to read to learn. That is, our goal is to turn learning to read into reading to learn. To do so becomes the task of teaching both what the reader needs to know in terms of language, content, and rhetorical structure, as well as how the reader may strategically apply such knowledge in the reading process. With this in mind, I'd like now to turn to considering several current areas of second language reading research and pedagogy which, I believe, reflect this concern with both the what a reader needs to know and how to turn this knowledge to the reader's strategic use.

CURRENT RESEARCH IN SECOND LANGUAGE READING

Cognitive Processing and Research on Content and Formal Schemata

The most significant recent development in second language reading, I believe, is the focus on cognitive processing in second language reading, and the recognition of the variety of complex cognitive processes in which readers engage. These processes involve all kinds of knowledge which the reader brings to the reading task -- knowledge of content, knowledge of rhetorical structure, and linguistic knowledge, including lexical, syntactic, semantic, as well as pragmatic knowledge. We now recognize the interactive nature of text processing, involving both top-down and bottom-up processes interacting both within and across various levels of processing, from the lowest levels of feature, letter and word recognition, to syntactic and propositional levels, to the highest, most global levels of text and context. We also now recognize that the interaction is not only between and across levels within the reader, but also between the reader and the text -- between levels of processing within the reader and the properties of the text at various levels of analysis. This interactive nature of human information processing is common to both oral and written language -- listening and reading, in first and second languages.

With the recognition of reading as an interactive process, second language reading research has investigated the interactive effects of the rhetorical structure of texts of various kinds and readers' formal schemata. In addition to my own studies on both narrative and expository texts (Carrell 1984a, 1984b), Urquhart (1984) and Benedetto (1984, 1985) have also conducted similar studies. All of these studies show significant effects on second language reading as a function of text structure or organization. Carrell (1985) showed the promise of attempts to teach non-native speakers about the rhetorical structure of English expository prose.

By now, several studies have shown the effects of non-native readers' background knowledge of a text's content (i.e., their content schemata) on second language reading. In addition to Steffensen, Joag-dev and Anderson's (1979) seminal study of cross-culture content effects, similar studies have been conducted by Johnson (1981, 1982), Carrell (1981b), Cabello (1984), and Haus and Levine (1985). An interesting side-light to these studies is that when these studies have also included consideration of students' level of linguistic knowledge or proficiency level in English as a foreign/second language or of text difficulty in terms of lexico-syntactic considerations, it has routinely turned out that students' background knowledge of content is a more important factor in reading comprehension than the linguistic factors (Johnson, 1981; Haus & Levine, 1985; Floyd & Carrell, 1987). I am aware of only one second language, cross-cultural, reading study which has investigated and shown the facilitative effects of actually training or teaching relevent content schemata (Floyd & Carrell, 1987).

In a 1987 study of the combined effects of both content and form (Carrell, 1987a), I showed that, within the limitations of the particular manipulations of text and the particular types of subjects in that study, when both content and rhetorical form are factors in ESL reading comprehension, content appears to have the greater effect on comprehension.

Much of the work on the effects of content and formal schemata on second language reading involves discipline-specific effects (e.g., science, technology, business, English for Specific Purposes, English for Academic Purposes). The general tenor of this research is that specific disciplines are, in effect, different "subcultures" into which readers are enculturated, and that material from a familiar discipline or "subculture" is easier to read and understand than linguistically comparable material from an unfamiliar discipline (Cohen, et al., 1976; Mohammed & Swales, 1984; Alderson & Urquhart, 1985). In fact, Alderson and Urquhart's work with reading English for Academic Purposes has lead them to question the traditional position towards the selection of texts for testing purposes, namely the aim of selecting texts which are sufficiently "general" to avoid favoring any particular group of students. While the assumption underlying this traditional position is obviously a belief that certain texts will favor particular groups, presumably because of the background knowledge available to these groups, Alderson and Urquhart point out that such general texts may not be appropriate measures of EFL reading comprehension. In an empirical study of English for Academic Purposes, they found (1) that students from a particular discipline performed better on tests based on texts taken from their own subject discipline than did students from other disciplines (that is, students appear to be advantaged by taking a test on a text in a familiar content area), (2) that students from certain disciplines found the so-called "general" texts easier than did students from other disciplines (that is, the texts were not "general" across all discipline groups, and, in fact, Alderson & Urquhart end up questioning the existence of truly "general" texts which would be so neutral in content and cultural/discipline assumptions that they would not, in some way, favor a particular group), and (3) that these "general" texts underestimated the reading ability of science and engineering students when compared to their reading ability on texts in their disciplines. Alderson and Urquhart concluded that, rather paradoxically in the EFL context, it is the more specialized, not the more generalized, texts which may elicit the best tests of a reader's EFL reading ability. For second language readers, many of whom have much more limited skills for extracting information from texts, and whose second language reading skills have been developed in specific discipline contexts, inability to perform successfully on so-called "general" texts may not be indicative of their abilities on texts in their own specialties.

As Widdowson (1979) has observed, different disciplines -- such as physics -- constitute subcultures of their own. The texts and the modes of communicating [illegible] texts in each discipline/subculture may vary. One interesting way to explore the discourse structures in various disciplines is to examine their publication manuals. Charles Bazerman (1984) has an interesting paper on the APA Publication Manual as codification and reflection of social scientific rhetorical patterns. The APA Publication Manual has been widely adopted not only in experimental psychology, but in many of the social sciences, including sociology and political science, and, it is interesting to note, has recently been adopted by the TESOL Quarterly as its style guide.

In the field of English for specific purposes and discipline-specific texts, it has been common to investigate rhetorical differences among texts in different fields (Selinker & Trimble, 1974; Selinker, Todd-Trimble, & Trimble, 1976). Less common, but beginning to occur, are investigations of scientific texts and their production from the perspective of writers and the writing process (Bazerman, 1983; Herrington, 1985). Much less common are investigations of scientific texts and the way they are read by real readers, professionals in the field. One interesting study that I am aware of in this area is also by Charles Bazerman (1985), mentioned above. In this study, entitled "Physicists reading physics: Schema-laden purposes and purpose-laden schema," published in Written Communication in 1985 and based on data gathered from interviews and observations, Bazerman develops two themes related to the reader's purpose and schema of background knowledge. They are: (1) that the researcher's own need to carry on research and his/her own understanding of the field clearly shape the reading process and the meaning carried away from the professional literature; and (2) that moreover, purpose and schema are intertwined, so that the reader's schema incorporates active purpose, i.e., to carry on his/her own research, and purpose is framed by the schema. The reader processes information that has significance for the existing schema and will view that information from the perspective of the schema. Thus, the way one reads is a strategic consequence of what one is trying to accomplish. How one reads turns out to be as fundamental a decision as what to read. [I believe these same observations apply as well to listening. The audience for papers at any discipline-specific conference obviously listen for their own purposes and with their own schemata and purposes intertwined to provide a framework for what they understand from a paper.] More of this kind of research needs to go on in reading (and listening) of specialized texts and for specific purposes.

Cognitive Processing and Readers' Cognitive Strategies and Metacognition

I'd now like to consider some of the research and pedagogy centered on second language readers' cognitive and metacognitive strategies. Since the 1970's there has been no shortage of L2 learning theorists advocating teaching students to use a variety of reading strategies or skills in order to read better (Zvetina, 1987; Loew, 1984; Woytak, 1984; Phillips, 1984; Schulz, 1984; Aspatore, 1984; Grellet, 1981; Omaggio, 1984;

Hosenfeld, Arnold, Kirchofer, Laciura & Wilson, 1981). These strategies run the gamut from the traditional skills of skimming, scanning, contextual guessing or skipping unknown words, tolerating ambiguity, reading for meaning, critical reading, and making inferences, to more recently recognized skills such as building and activating appropriate background knowledge (Zvetina, 1987), and recognizing text structure (Block, 1986). Less common have been empirical investigations into the strategies actually used by successful and unsuccessful second language readers (Hosenfeld, 1977; Hauptman, 1979; Knight, Padron, & Waxman, 1985; Block, 1986; Sarig, 1987).

Two of these worth singling out for comment are the study by Hosenfeld (1977) and Block (1986). In exploratory, descriptive case studies with small numbers of individual learners using mentalistic, think-aloud techniques, both Hosenfeld and Block identified apparent relations between certain types of reading strategies and successful or unsuccessful foreign or second language reading. For example, Hosenfeld's successful reader kept the meaning of the passage in mind during reading, read in "broad phrases," skipped words viewed as unimportant to total phrase meaning, and had a positive self-concept as a reader. By contrast, Hosenfeld's unsuccessful reader lost the meaning of sentences as soon as they were decoded; read in short phrases, seldom skipped words as unimportant -- viewing words as "equal" in terms of their contribution to total phrase meaning, and had a negative self-concept as a reader. Block, in her study of generally nonproficient readers, found that four characteristics seemed to differentiate the more successful of these from the less successful: (1) integration, (2) recognition of aspects of text structure, (3) use of general knowledge, personal experiences and associations, and (4) response in extensive versus reflexive mode (extensive mode refers to the reader dealing with the message conveyed by the author and focusing on understanding the ideas of the author; reflexive mode refers to the reader relating to the text affectively and personally, directing attention away from the text and toward themselves, focusing on their own thoughts and feelings rather than on the information in the text).

With the exception of a couple of strategies mentioned briefly by Block but not reported in her results (e.g., "comment on behavior or process," "monitor comprehension," and "correct behavior"), this research has been limited to strategy use, and has not investigated readers' awareness of strategies, or their metacognitive awareness.

First language reading researchers -- most notably Brown and her collaborators (e.g., Baker & Brown, 1984) -- have investigated several different aspects of the relationship between metacognitive skills and effective reading. Little, if any, similar research has been done in second language reading.

According to Flavell (1978), two dimensions of metacognitive ability are (1) knowledge of cognition, and (2) regulation of cognition. The former, i.e., knowledge of cognition, includes the reader's knowledge about his or her own cognitive resources, and the compatability between the reader and the reading situation. If a reader is aware of what is needed to perform effectively, then it is possible to take steps to meet the demands of a reading situation more adequately. If, however, the reader is not aware of his or her own limitations as a reader or of the complexity of the task at hand, then the reader can hardly be expected to take preventive actions in order to anticipate or recover from problems.

Related to this first aspect of metacognition is the reader's conceptualization of the reading process: how the reader conceptualizes what he/she is doing in reading. Devine (1984) has investigated second language readers' conceptualizations about their reading in a second language. Her analysis of transcripts of reading interviews provided evidence of beginning ESL readers' theoretical orientations toward reading in their second language. To quote Devine "Depending on the language units they professed to focus on or indicated they considered important to effective reading, the subjects were classified as sound-, word-, or meaning-orientated..." (1984, p. p. 97). Further, Devine found that meaning-centered readers demonstrated good to excellent comprehension on a retelling from an oral reading, while sound-centered readers were judged to have either poor or very poor comprehension (1984, p. 104).

In a study I've recently conducted (Carrell, 1988), looking at both first and second language reading in Spanish and English (i.e., English as L1 and Spanish as L2, and Spanish as L1 and English as L2), we included investigation of metacognitive factors, specifically various aspects of readers' conceptualizations about reading strategies in their first and second languages. Using a 1-5 Likert Scale, where 1 = strongly agree, and 5 = strongly disagree, subjects responded to a metacognitive questionnaire which included 36 statements about silent reading strategies in the language in question, English and Spanish. (See Figure 1 for an overview of the questionnaire and its structure.) Items on the questionnaire included (1) statements related to subjects' abilities in reading in that language -- to provide a measure of their confidence as readers in that language; (2) statements relating to what they do when they do not understand something -- to provide a measure of their awareness of repair strategies; (3) statements about what they focus on in order to read more effectively and about reading behaviors of the best readers they know -- all of these to tap their conception of effective strategies; and (4) finally, statements about things which may make reading in that language difficult for them. Within the latter two categories of item-types, i.e., measures of effective strategies and difficulty, individual items focused on various types of reading strategies: (1) phonetic, pronunciation, or sound-letter aspects of decoding; (2) word-level aspects of meaning; (3) sentence, syntactic decoding; (4) details of text content; (5) global aspects of textual meaning, or text-gist; (6) background knowledge; and (7) textual organization. All of these strategies had been suggested in the literature as types of reading strategies related to reading comprehension (Devine, 1984; Hosenfeld, 1977; Block, 1986; Baker & Brown, 1984; Brown, 1980).

The questionnaires were prepared in English and then translated into Spanish; subjects received the questionnaires in their native language. Subjects were native Spanish speakers who were intermediate and advanced ESL students at SIUC, and native English speakers who were beginning and intermediate students of Spanish, also at SIUC.

The 36 items on the metacognitive questionnaire have been subjected to a number of analyses, but the basic one of interest for our purposes is

1) Confidence - 6 statements related to various aspects of a reader's perceived ability to read in the language.

E.g., "When reading silently in Spanish, I am able to recognize the difference between main points and supporting details."

2) Repair - 5 statements related to repair strategies a reader uses when comprehension fails.

E.g., "When reading silently in English, if I don't understand something, I keep on reading and hope for clarification further on."

3) Effective - 17 statements related to reading strategies the reader feels make the reading effective.

Subcategorized into:

Sound-letter	(3 statements)
Word-meaning	(5 statements)
Text gist	(2 statements)
Background knowledge	(2 statements)
Content details	(2 statements)
Text organization	(2 statements)
Sentence syntax	(1 statement)

E.g., "When reading silently in Spanish the things I do to read effectively are to focus on the organization of the text."

4) Difficulty - 8 statements related to aspects of reading which make the reading difficult.

Subcategorized into:

Sound-letter	(3 statements)
Word-meaning	(1 statement)
Text gist	(1 statement)
Background knowledge	(1 statement)
Text organization	(1 statement)
Sentence syntax	(1 statement)

E.g., "When reading silently in English, things that make the reading difficult are the grammatical structures."

FIGURE 1

Structure of the Metacognitive Questionnaire the relationship between subjects' metacognitive conceptualizations about reading in the language in question (their L1 or their L2) and their performance in reading in that language. In other words, what is the relationship between their perceptions about their abilities (i.e., their confidence), their perceptions about repair strategies, about effective strategies, and about things which cause them difficulty, on the one hand, and their reading ability in that language, on the other?

To test these questions, separate simple regressions were run for each group of subjects, looking at the four different categories of metacognition (Confidence, Repair, Effective, and Difficulty) and subjects' reading in both their first and second languages. Results are reported in Table 1.

For reading in the first language, these results reveal that no confidence items or repair strategies were significantly related to reading performance for either group. Further, for Group 1, the more subjects tended to disagree with the statements about particular types of strategies as being effective for reading in that language, the better their reading performance. For example, if they tended to disagree with statements such as "When reading silently in Spanish, the things I do to read effectively are to focus on 'mentally sounding out parts of words,' 'the grammatical structures,' 'understanding the meaning of each word,' 'the details of the content,' then they tended to be better readers in that language. Finally, if they also tended to disagree that sound-letter information or grammatical structure were things that made reading difficult, they also read significantly better. Thus, to put it positively, if they tended to agree that what we might characterize as "local" reading strategies were not particularly effective, but also did not cause them particular difficulty, then reading performance tended to be better. Group 2 showed some of these same tendencies with regard to "local" reading strategies, but not to the same extent as Group 1. Interestingly, what we might characterize as awareness of the more "global" types of reading strategies, e.g., text-gist, background knowledge, and text organization, were not significantly related to first language reading performance in either group.

For reading in the second language, some of the confidence and repair strategies emerge as significantly related to reading performance. For Group 1, if subjects tended to agree with the statement that they are able to recognize the difference between main points and supporting details, they tended to perform better in reading English as their second language. For Group 2, if subjects tended to agree with the statement that they are able to question the significance or truthfulness of what the author says they tended to perform better in reading in Spanish as a foreign language. For both groups, the more they tended to disagree with the statement that when they don't understand something they give up and stop reading, the better they tended to perform in reading the second language. This result is reminiscent of Hewett's (1983, 1986) finding that readers who rate themselves as being more reflective than impulsive achieved significantly better second language reading scores, and that persistence is a significant component of this reflectivity.

In the category of things that make reading in the second language difficult, sentence syntax emerges as significant for Group 2, the same

Regression Model: L1 Reading = L1 Metacognition

Significant Regression Effects

	CONFIDENCE	REPAIR	EFFECTIVE	DIFFICULTY
Group 1 Spanish L1	---	---	-Sound letter -Sent. syntax -Word meaning -Content details	-Sound letter -Sent. syntax
Group 2 English L1	---	---	-Sound letter	

Regression Model: L2 Reading = L2 Metacognition

Significant Regression Effects

	CONFIDENCE	REPAIR	EFFECTIVE	DIFFICULTY
Group 1 Spanish L1	+Main/Support	-Give up/ stop reading	-Content details	-Background knowledge
Group 2 English L1	+Able to question author	-Give up/ stop reading	+Word meaning -Sound letter +Sent. syntax	-Sent. syntax

---

+ = positive relationship
The greater the subject's agreement with the metacognitive statement, the better the subject read in that language.

- = negative relationship
The greater the subject's disagreement with the metacognitive statement, the better the subject read in that language.

TABLE 1

Significant Relationships of Metacognition and Reading in L1 and L2 way it did for group 1 for reading in the native language. Interestingly, for Group 1, the more subjects tended to disagree with the statement that relating the text to their background knowledge caused difficulty, the better they tended to read.

The relationships between what are perceived to be effective strategies and the effectiveness of the reading are not as clear for the second language situation as they were for the first language situation. Reading for details of content, for Group 1, and sound-letter correspondences, for Group 2, are both negatively related to reading performance, as they were for the first language situation. However, for Group 2, word meaning and sentence syntax are both positively related to reading performance; that is, the more subjects tended to agree that these 'local' reading strategies were effective for their reading in Spanish as a foreign language, the better their reading.

These data are still being analyzed and interpreted. However, based upon the results obtained thus far, I think that further research both on readers' cognitive strategies, in the sense of Hosenfeld and Block, and on readers' metacognitive conceptualizations about reading, in the sense of my study and Devine's earlier research, will be extremely fruitful areas in the future.

The Reading-Writing Connection

One final area of current research and pedagogy in second language reading that I wish to discuss is the reading writing connection. Two separate colloquia on this topic were presented at the 1988 TESOL convention. For those familiar with the first language research emanating from the Center for the Study of Reading, the linkage of reading and writing will be a familiar theme. However, within second language, specifically ESL, we have only recently begun to rediscover the benefits of linking the two.

One way to explore the reading/writing connection is to consider the connection the way Krashen (1984) does, namely to explore the effects of "uninstructed" reading on writing ability -- the relationship between voluntary pleasure reading and writing ability. The evidence, as you are all no doubt well aware, suggests a high correlation between amount of reading and writing ability. Which is not necessarily to imply a causal connection; evidence of causal connections is harder to come by.

However, another way to think about the reading/writing connection is to consider each from the perspective of the other in terms of research and pedagogy, and to ask what recent research and pedagogy in one domain suggests about research and pedagogy in the other. I shall only mention some of these, without going into much detail on any one of them. First, is the product/process distinction. Although writing itself is obviously a process and not a product, until recently the study of writing has primarily focused on the study of the products of writing and not on the process itself. Recent developments in the field of composition research have changed that, and today the focus is as much on the process as on the products (cf. Connor, 1987). Similarly, reading itself is obviously a process and not a product. Until recently, the study of reading has focused on the products of reading, on the outcomes of reading in terms of static measures of comprehension -- usually answers to comprehension questions. Recently, however, focus has shifted in reading research to exploration of the process -- including such on-line measures as oral miscue analysis (Goodman 1968), eye movement research (Carpenter & Just, 1983), eye-voice span research (Levin, 1979), oral and written recall protocol analysis (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Meyer, 1975), and think-aloud, retrospective and introspective, interview, and other so-called mentalistic data (Block, 1986; Cohen, 1984, 1986; Sarig, 1987; Devine, 1984). As with writing, when the focus is on the product, it is with the intention of analyzing the product for the inferences we can draw about the process. Eskey presented an insightful paper at the 1988 TESOL convention on just this topic, entitled "Comparing Reading and Writing as Processes and Products."

A second way to look at the reading-writing connection is to consider the way writing may inform reading and reading pedagogy. By emphasizing the creative, meaning-making, evolving and dynamic aspects of the reading process, reading can be seen to share much with writing, both as processes of "composing" a text. Zamel, in another insightful paper at the 1988 TESOL convention, argued for the creative use of writing as a way of engaging students with meaning-making reading experiences. She argued that "because writing allows the writer/reader to dialogue with a text, to find one's way into it, to discover and consider one's stance, one's alive reactions, to become a member of an interpretive community of readers, it [writing] is a powerful way to give students insights into the generative, creative and dialogic nature of reading." (from the abstract) Drawing on the school of literary criticism known as reader-response theory, as well as upon Frank Smith's view of reading (and all literacy activities) as an opportunity for the "the creation of worlds," Zamel made a compelling case for the use of creative writing activities as the basis for helping students to come to understand the construction of their own readings of texts.

Finally, a third way of looking at the reading/writing connection is to consider the implications for writing pedagogy of advances in reading research and pedagogy. Meyer's research on first language reading has shown how a better explicit understanding of a reader's mental representation of a text and how that representation forms and functions in long-term memory can be used to help a writer plan texts which enable readers to create representations which better match the writer's purpose in the communication (Meyer, 1982). Other first language reading researchers are showing how explicit instruction in the construction of text maps and/or semantic maps after reading can facilitate the planning of producing original discourse (Sinatra, Stahl-Gemake, & Morgan, 1986). In second language, in a chapter I recently contributed to Connor and Kaplan's book on writing (Carrell, 1987b), I related Meyer's ideas on native reading-writing to ESL composition and ESL composition pedagogy. And, finally, Joan Eisterhold and I are presently conducting an empirical training study -- the design of which is outlined in Figure 2 -- to determine whether adult ESL learners who are explicitly taught about Meyer's top-level rhetorical structures specifically for reading purposes cognitively transfer that training to writing (that is our Train-Read-Write group), and how this group compares to groups who receive no training (our Read-Write group), groups who receive training specifically for writing without reading (our Train-Write group), and groups who

I	II	III	IV
Train-Read-Write	Read-Train-Write	Train-Write	Read-Write

FIGURE 2

Eisterhold-Carrell Research Design (1987, 1988)

receive training specifically for writing, with reading serving only as models for writing (our Read-Train-Write group). Preliminary results suggest that while both the training and the reading are important -- that is the groups receiving both reading and training outperform the groups with just reading or just training -- more advanced students tended to do better with the Train-Read-Write treatment, while intermediate students tended to do better with the Read-Train-Write. What this may suggest is a complex relationship between cognitive training transfer from reading to writing and varying stages of second language proficiency and reading/writing skills development. That is, on a lower proficiency level, training appears to be most effective when it is applied directly to writing. However, on a higher proficiency level, training appears to be most effective when it is focused on reading and transfered through to writing. All of which seems to fit with Shanahan's bi-directional, interactive, developmental model (Shanahan & Lomax, 1986) of the reading-writing relationship. This is a theoretical model developed for first language reading-writing connection, which has received convincing empirical support, and which shows how the nature of the reading-writing relationship changes as students become more proficient readers.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I have tried to show how three currently popular areas of research and pedagogy in second language reading are derived from and are closely related to considerations of pragmatics and communicative competence. With the goal of teaching second language students to learn to read so that they may read to learn, second language reading research and pedagogy must consider all that the reader needs to know (including content and formal schemata, as well as linguistic knowledge) and, in addition, how to strategically apply such knowledge in the reading process (including cognitive processes, and metacognitive awareness).

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ENGLISH ACROSS CULTURES: NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKER IN THE THIRD WORLD

P. B. NAYAR

Thousands of native English speakers (NES) work abroad in the Third World countries as ESL teachers and as academic and technical experts. The NES expert abroad is in a situation where his expertise is not backed by his native system and environment, but is often countered by the systems and ways of alien cultures and values. The monocultural English speakers' naivety regarding the sociocultural and technological "values gap" between themselves and their hosts significantly affects their attitudes, interaction, and the methods, materials and techniques they adopt. As a result, there are conflicts and breakdowns in communication, which have far-reaching repercussions not merely on the fulfillment of the NESs' sojourn objectives, but also on the attitude of the host nationals, and eventually on bilateral national relations. The problems are further compounded by the NESs' lack of awareness of the fact that although the hosts may seem to share their linguistic code, they don't necessarily "relate" to the code in the same way NESs do. Where the NES experts dominate academia, the hosts often feel their fragile national identity threatened by Western cultural hegemony. Pre-sojourn training programs in English speaking countries should therefore provide not only inter-ethnic and inter-cultural communication perspectives, but also adequate insights into the pragmatic differences of World Englishes.

Communication in the English language today can be seen as between four types of interactants: Native speaker (NS) to NS; non-native speaker (NNS) to NNS inter and intranationally as a language of wider communication; NS to NNS in NS country; and NS to NNS in NNS's territory. The last two situations are by far the more complex as they potentially involve both intercultural and inter-ethnic conflicts. Although both situations have comparable conflict potential and need for cultural adjustments by both parties, I would like to contend that the latter situation is geo-politically the more sensitive one, particularly for the United States, which has a much larger international involvement, commitment and feeling of responsibility than any other nation. Besides, in the former situation (of the NNS in NS country), the onus of cultural adjustment (to the NS host nation) is or should be almost entirely on the NNS (see Nayar 1986), while in the latter situation, it is the NS who has to make greater efforts to adjust and acculturate. Moreover, practically all NNSs sojourning in NS countries will either have learnt or be in the process of learning the native language of the hosts, and so will have some familiarity with the host culture and values implicitly or explicitly acquired through the study of language. NSs going abroad normally neither expect nor are expected to communicate with their potential hosts in their various native languages, and at best may only have a certain amount of pre-sojourn orientation. Finally, NNS sojourners do not generally hold any position of power or influence that might affect or change the ways of life of the NS country. For these reasons, I have decided to concentrate on the last of the four situations, that is, of the NS abroad, perhaps at the risk of over-emphasizing one of two equally important cross-cultural contact situations. The magnitude and importance of the communication problems in this situation, where the NS is riding his linguistic horse on the NNS's turf cannot be overemphasized. By the word communication, what is meant here is not just mere conveying of the intended message, but also the successful exchange of interactional goals. I wish to argue, perhaps seemingly platitudinously, that communicative success in these situations will not only vary inversely with the cultural distance between the Native English Speaker (NES) and his host, and directly with the NES's cultural flex and intercultural awareness, but also, more important, with the NES's sense and perspective of the role, function load and changed pragmatics of the English language when it is used in unfamiliar non-native situations.

Although the emphasis here is on academic contact situations, the general principles and practices are applicable and valid, mutatis mutandis, for all contact situations.

In many Third World countries, educational institutions at all levels are extensively staffed by native English speakers, not merely for the teaching of English, but also in administrative and advisory capacities. The less developed the countries are, the greater their dependence on expatriate expertise. (I shall use the term "sojourner" to indicate the expatriate Western experts.) In a contact situation like this, it is virtually impossible for anyone, sojourner or host, to be fully aware of the nature, extent, magnitude and complexity of the communication problems. The communication gap between the English speaking sojourners and their English speaking hosts is not just a function of the difference between their cultures in the mere anthropological sense of the term culture. It is also a function of the technological gap between the material civilizations of the industrialized, urbanized, affluent, gadget-oriented Western societies and the traditional, agrarian, subsistence-economy civilizations of the Afro-Asian countries[1]. In addition, it is also a function of the differences in values and orientations between two worlds. On the one hand we have the relatively linguistically homogenous ***nations*** of the West, where there is a strong correlation between national, linguistic and hence cultural identities, and on the other we have the polyglot, multi-tribal, multi-ethnic, pluralistic political entities loosely called nations, where national, ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities criss-cross in a bewilderingly complex manner, with bewilderingly complex sociolinguistic concomitants. The NES academic abroad therefore faces a communicative situation that is very delicate, complex and potentially full of conflicts.

Several factors contribute directly and indirectly to the complexity and sensitivity of the contact situation. First of all, a great deal of communicational success depends on a proper perception of (and adherence to) the socio-professional role of the sojourner in the host country (as perceived by the hosts) and of the behavioural norms and obligations arising out of and appertaining to that role. Secondly, there is the sojourners' own perception of their role, duties and responsibilities, which may sometimes conflict with the perception of the hosts. Thirdly, the sojourners may find themselves in an anomalous situation, where their power as experts is not supported by the efficient organization, service and back up system they are used to at home. And finally, conflicts may also occur because of differences in the communicative value (Widdowson 1979) of what is said in English by the NS and the NNS.

Many Third World countries have well-defined social hierarchies, with complex implications on the ethnography of communication, and the "pecking orders" and the resulting pragmatics of communication do not have the same bases as what the sojourners are used to. For sojourners from a mobile and more egalitarian social structure (like Americans) it is difficult even to conceptualize the complexities of the ethnography. Therefore, it is by no means easy for the sojourners to assume and comfortably occupy their social and professional niche as perceived and assigned by the hosts, and to conform to the corresponding norms of "noblesse oblige". For instance, in several Afro-Asian countries, initiating, negotiating and concluding an interaction, as well as the rituals, styles and registers appropriate for the various participants are controlled by conventions and priorities of status, age, caste, tribe, sex, situation etc., even when the participants are using a culturally neutral language like English. Usually, because of their economic and social status as guest experts, most host societies treat the foreign sojourners as a privileged class, loosely grafted on temporarily and anomalously to the upper echelons of their social structure. There are also sometimes stereotypical names for foreigners that mark them out for how they are perceived like *Mzungu*, *Masta*, *Ferenji*, *Saheb*, *Gaijin* or whatever. Initially, The sojourners cannot apply any canons known to them to determine who their social equals, superiors or inferiors are in the host country, or what the acceptable communicative patterns are, and in a hierarchy-conscious society, these matters are important. Needless to say, the difficulties are often a function of the distance or similarity between the concerned aspects in the sojourner and host cultures although even in cultures perceived close to each other (e.g. American and West European) culture fatigue is not unknown. The sojourners will feel uncomfortable handling unfamiliar social situations and relationships. For instance, Americans rarely cope comfortably with a very common social feature of many Third World countries -- employing and dealing with domestic servants. In Ethiopia, for example, Indian sojourners, though much lower in social hierarchy and less well-paid than their "white" colleagues, almost always found more permanent and dependable domestic servants than Euro-Americans for much lower wages. The Indians were used to servants as a social class, knew the "when to do and say what and how" of master-servant relationships, could relate better to servants and so easily established a secure and unstressful interaction with them. Similarly, despite their heavy accents and often "shaky" competence, most Indian teachers of English were evaluated as highly as NS teachers, because I think the Indians, by transferring their own native role model, conformed better to the traditional, benevolently authoritarian, father-figure model the Ethiopians had for teachers. In these instances, the Indian sojourners, because of shared cultural features, were able to live up better to host country expectations. On the other hand, since many Third World countries model their technology and their institutions after the Western countries, these are areas where Western sojourners will be more comfortable and will also be able to live up to host country expectations of their role. However, what is needed is an honest effort on the part of the sojourner to understand host perceptions of their status and obligations[2]. Friends or colleagues from the host country who are proficient in and sympathetic to the sojourner's native culture can be very valuable sources of information. Host culture proficient "old timers" among fellow sojourners can also be good cultural mediators.

The sojourners' perception of their role and responsibilities in the host country can be at variance with that of the hosts. Coming from a culture where objectives and procedures and clear cut and well organized, where specialisms are a recognized part of expertise, and where intellectual honesty regarding areas of expertise is taken for granted, the sojourners may find themselves and their expertise embarrassingly or unrealistically misconstrued in many Third World countries. Often a greater range of expertise than what the sojourners believe they can offer is expected and demanded. As Brislin (1981) observes: "Answers which are variants of 'that's not my specialty' clearly provide no help.... Sojourners must be prepared to entertain questions which tax the limits of their knowledge. They should also be prepared to modify their original plans when faced with problems identified as significant by hosts. Further, they must be prepared to do this work without extensive reference aids....accustomed in their own country." (p.223.) Again, instances where NES experts may find themselves having to work outside their field of expertise, often having to teach English, are not rare. Maley (1983) talks of situations in China, where the criterion for recruiting English teachers seems to be "If it walks and talks English, It's OK." The other extreme of this, of course, are the sojourners who see their role as cultural ambassadors for their countries, and who feel that their chief mission is the spreading of Western Wisdom. From a communicative point of view, their sojourn is monological with little regard for the needs and priorities of the recipients. One hopes that their numbers are not very large, as they even at best, will only succeed in creating white minds in brown or black bodies.

Thirdly, there are situations where the Western sojourner experts' professional intentions are frustrated by the unsupportive or incompatible systems and values of the host countries. The technology, service industries, and the organizational and bureaucratic support systems of the Third World are not as functionally efficient as in the West. Perhaps many of those, copies of Western prototypes, are not fully compatible with the temperament and value systems of non-Western societies either. (For an example of socio-cultural constraints on the English syllabus of a Third World country, see Maley 1984 and Hawkey 1984.)

Finally, the growth and spread of the English language, not just as a language of international and inter-ethnic communication (Smith 1981, 1983; Quirk and Widdowson 1985; Greenbaum 1985; Bailey and Gorlach 1986), but also in terms of the indiginization of several non-native institutionalized and performance varieties (Strevens 1982; Kachru 1986) have resulted in considerable diversity and complexity in the communicative value of English surface structures across the English speaking world. These differences in communicative value can be a result of anything as varied as lexical denotations to pragmatic presuppositions to culture-specific connotations. Variations and differences within the NNS varieties and between NS and NNS varieties are much greater than variations within NS varieties. NSs and NNSs may not mean the same thing at all when they appear to be saying the same thing, that is, when they utter the same language form. Conversely, with the intent of meaning being the same, that is, to achieve the same communicative value, they may in fact produce widely different surface forms. Maley (1983) gives several examples of words to which NESs and Chinese English speakers attach very different meanings (that is, give different communicative values) without consciously intending to differ. Similarly some African varieties of English may require a long and complicated litany of expressions lasting several minutes to realize the communicative value of the most simple expressions of phatic communication (to the NES) of greeting or leave taking or of excusing oneself (see Osterloh 1986). Failure to comprehend the true communicative value of expressions, particularly those directly dealing with the interpersonal functions of language (Halliday 1979) can damage communication irreparably in any cross-cultural situation.

In sum, the best-intentioned efforts of the sojourners to establish good rapport with their hosts may not often be fully effective because of the naivety of the interactants regarding the culture and communication gap between them despite an ostensible "common language", because of the incongruence between the perception and the realities of the sojourn situation and the sojourner's role, and because of an inadequacy of intercultural awareness.

By and large, Americans are a simple people, informal, hospitable, generous, and motivated by splendid intentions. Is there then any factual basis for the much-maligned stereotype of the "ugly American" abroad -- pushy, impatient and intolerant of the unknown, overbearing, patronizing, culturally naive and myopic, ethnocentric, self-important, and in general ignorant of and unconcerned about other cultures and ways of life? Or are most of them just unconscious victims of geopolitical ethnocentrism and are more sinned against than sinning? Perhaps there's a bit of both and perhaps there is a very indirect cause-effect relation between the two as well. However, one thing seems fairly obvious. Material wealth, political power supported by military might, and technological achievements do tend to lead to ethnocentric technological determinism and cultural chauvinism, and educationally and economically deprived people tend to be labelled primitive, uncivilized and uncultured. One of America's famous ethnologists, Edward T. Hall (1979) writes, "We in the west are convinced that we have a corner on reality -- a pipeline to God -- and that other realities are simply superstitions or distortions brought about by inferior or less developed systems of thought. This gives us a right to free them from ignorance and make them like us. The dazzling success of our technology, as well as our understanding of the physical world has blinded Europeans and Americans alike to the complexities of their own lives and given them a false sense of superiority over those who have not evolved their mechanical extensions to the same degree." (p.206.) Literature on cross-cultural communication is full of instances of the results of unimaginative transference of western expertise with little regard to its suitability or applicability by overzealous western experts (Brislin 1977, 1981; Hall 1977; Harris and Moran 1979; Nayar 1985b; Omotoso 1978; to mention just a few). Much of a recent colloquium on teaching English in China by China-returned American professors at a convention[3] was a listing of the shortcomings of the Chinese system (which included the use of British text books) as perceived and experienced by the participants, along with their proud recounting of what they did to make ***modern*** principles and practices available to the Chinese. For ***modern***, the uninvolved, discerning spectator can read "what is currently fashionable in the United States", never mind if they are compatible with the Chinese systems, institutions and traditions or are desirable, feasible or practicable in China. Shu (1988) remarks, "Obviously, these English-speaking ESL experts and teachers from scientifically and technologically developed countries have somehow got the idea that everything produced in their countries is highly developed, advanced and modem, from science and technology to educational theories and teaching methodologies.... English speaking ESL experts base their criticism and judgement on the ESL teaching theories developed in their own country with the presumption that those theories are universal and applicable all over the world." (p.2 & 5.) Shu's angry intensity is shared, albeit in milder language by Eom (1988) who deplores the waning popularity of Americans in Korea, whom he describes as "self-imposing and uninterested in the Korean ways of life." (p.2.)

Establishing good rapport with the hosts is an undeniable priority for all sojourners. The eventual success of efforts to establish rapport will depend on several factors like sincerity of motivation, knowledge of and attitude towards the host culture, length of sojourn, nature of the contact situation and the general threshold of intolerance of the host society. A New World, melting pot society like the U.S. may be generally more tolerant of non-conforming or culturally deviant behaviour patterns from foreigners, particularly if the foreigners are seen to be temporary sojourners. However, this attitude is not often reciprocated in a converse sojourn situation. As Brislin (1981) observes: "Americans living abroad are especially prone to negative judgements since, in general, they are charged with knowing little about the history of other countries." (p.284.) For Western or NES sojourners in Third World countries a basic step to establish good rapport with the hosts is not only to try and establish ***equal status contact***, but also to make sure that the hosts feel the ***equalness*** of the equal status.

Quite a few accidental factors, geo-political and geo-linguistic, connive against the well-meaning but unfortunate English speakers and their efforts to establish good relations. First, NES countries happen to be politically, technologically and economically among the world's more developed and powerful countries, and as hinted earlier, this leads to their being somehow perceived as superior. Their role as givers or providers of knowledge, technology and economic assistance contributes to a perception of a superior status. Second, the language of communication they use with the recipient countries also happens to be their native language, and the apparent superiority perceived and fostered by a superior command of the English language is an obstacle very hard to overcome (as in the case of any superstratum language vis a vis substratum languages). In addition, English language proficiency is a status symbol in many Anglophone Third World countries, whose self-imposed values give their own "English literates" social prestige. In some countries like India, Kenya and Nigeria, code switching into English is a sociolinguistic device to establish one's social credentials.

There are also some other factors leading to perceived unequalness, over which the NESs have some degree of control. English speakers, no matter where they are in the world (and more so if they are in Anglophone Third World), get very uneasy in social situations when people around them speak in a language other than English. And yet they have no qualms about speaking in English wherever in the world they are! Although the rest of the world, of necessity, has to learn English more than NESs need to learn other languages, the attitude "You come to my country and I talk to you in English, I come to your country and I talk to you in English" does not win friends. Also, the English language competence of a NNS often tends to be equated with mental and intellectual development, literacy and educational sophistication. Paul Simon (1980) puts it well when he observes that while an

American ambassador in Tokyo can have a most successful tour of duty without speaking a word of Japanese, a Japanese ambassador in Washington with no English will certainly be considered incompetent. Again, the English speaker's evaluation of the English language competence of a foreigner is not compatible with his evaluation of his own competence in a foreign language. An English speaker's limited competence in say, Chinese, will be valued very much over a Chinese speaker's near-native English. This attitude could be and in fact has been found to be crucially detrimental to equal status contact.

Two concepts developed by Hall (1977) could be invoked to exemplify two sample areas of communication conflict, and both have to do with differing world view and the resulting pragmatic presuppositions behind different versions of the same language. Hall divides people's sense of time into Monochronic and Polychronic and rightly observes that Americans, who have a monochronic sense of time, and whose lives are so completely controlled by the clock, would be horrified and distressed by the way in which appointments are perceived and handled by Polychronic Third World people. I have myself seen local bureaucrats in the Third World countries being dubbed inefficient, lazy and irresponsible by Euro-American sojourners merely because their attitude toward work and their perception of time were not compatible with those of the sojourners. I also remember expatriates in Ethiopia talking about a "native appointment" (meaning one not intended to be kept), and in Papua New Guinea about "Melanesian time" (meaning vague and unpunctual)[4]. Obviously, when appointments are made and schedules are set, the two interactants ***mean*** different things while they *say* the same thing.

The other notion Hall evolves is one of communicative strategy. Speech communities could have either a low context or high context culture. American culture is relatively low context, where the majority of communicative information is contained in the explicit code. Afro-Asian cultures, on the other hand, are high context, where the majority of information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person. Americans are likely to find many foreigners either reticent, laconic and inarticulate or circumlocutory, rambling and discursive. To an outsider, on the other hand, Americans may seem to be stating the obvious, in a rather platitudinous and banal way, often with verbal inflation, attaching and looking for meanings only in ***what is said***. Such ethnographic differences in communicative strategy, style and organization of verbally explicit information can lead to conflict when teachers and students operate under different presupposed rules of communication. In conflict-generating situations abroad, the sojourner has to carry the onus of avoiding or defusing conflicts even though the language of communication is the sojourners native language. Host students should not be considered or branded dim, inarticulate and unmotivated merely because their classroom interaction does not correspond to NES norms. Their learning strategies, interactional ethics and pragmatics, and sense of teacher student relationship are bound to be different from the NES teacher's. An Oriental student, for instance, may not want to say something in a way that might be the correct and logical rhetorical style for the NS, because in his pragmatics, by doing so he may be insulting the intelligence of the teacher or questioning the teacher's competence, neither of which he wants to do. A South Asian student may not be so forthcoming with "thank you's" and "please's" because for him they may be indicators of social distance rather than politeness.

So, what are some of the lessons from all this for us? First of all, in general, we have to be sensitive to the priorities, values and needs of the particular country. Problems and issues abroad should not be seen as extensions or projections of problems in the sojourners native culture. A foreign student or an immigrant learns ESL in an English speaking country. A South Asian, A Nigerian or a Papuan learns ESL in his own country. And there the resemblance probably ends. Theories, philosophies, policies, principles, strategies and methods of language learning and teaching are mostly situation-specific, and are fully valid and operational only in the sociolinguistic frames and epistemological traditions they have been conceived[5]. Others' realities may not necessarily be the same as how we see or perceive or interpret them, and their problems should not always be diagnosed or treated as we would ours. The sojourners, then, should have a realistic and not an idealistic approach to the needs and situations of the host country, and the sojourners' own academic conditioning should not affect their sense of relevance[6]. Secondly, native English speakers may feel emotionally loyal to their native variety of language and the cultural values it reflects. However, today there are several NNS countries with established Local Forms of English (LFE), all of which, though based on one or the other standard NS dialects, show sufficient institutionalization and functional identity to merit international acceptance. With the present-day spread of English such LFEs often function as effective exponents of non-English cultures. If a particular country prefers a local variant that is internationally comprehensible and yet embodies the cultural and national characteristics of the local users (see Kachru 1976, 1982, 1982, 1983, 1986; Smith 1983; Quirk and Widdowson 1985; Nayar 1985a), the NSs should make an effort to be sympathetic to it. In the use of teaching material, as Osterloh (1986) remarks, "Commonplace stories or those dialogues one-sidedly oriented toward European society should be replaced by contents meaningful to a local situation." (p.83.) For teachers, this does not just mean making superficial changes in the material by changing Peter to Pedro, or Solomon to Sulaiman, or Kingsley to Krishna, or O'Connor to Okimbo. Wherever teaching material in English has a heavy culture component that seriously conflicts with established local traditions, they should never be vigorously or over-zealously glorified, least of all aggressively held out as the universal ideal. English education should not be seen as a means of what the Europeans call "Cocacolanization". Much less should it be an attempt to establish language "power zones" by replacing Britannica with Americana or vice versa. Thirdly, English language teachers should realize that in most cases, the student overseas needs English not to be "educated, civilized, cultured and cultivated" but only as a tool for a specific objective in life. They learn English from the NS mostly for the same reason they would buy an American airplane, a British computer or an Australian tractor. Fourth, one should accept that it is possible to have adequate communicative competence in World English without necessarily subscribing to the sociocultural values or political ideologies of the native speakers. As English as a world language takes upon itself the burden of representing and reflecting non-English cultures, thought patterns and values, it cannot be any longer invariantly identified with Anglo-saxon, Anglo-American or even Euro-American values. The emergence of a significant body of literature in English in NNS cultures and contexts shows not only the versatility of English but also its tendency to be non-culture specific. There are even points of view that some varieties of English used for world communication are expressive of a secondary and universal culture (Widdowson 1979) acquired through modern education. Sixth, the sojourner's power situation should not be used for the propagation of any alien values, no matter how compulsive his or her inner call to do so may be[7]. Lastly, one should be prepared to recognize the cultural, social and spiritual values of the host country by accepting them in their own context and not through the looking glass of western values[8].

Many Afro-Asian nations are in a state of nascent nationalism, in the process of evolving a national character and national identity, and so feel defensive about the preservation of their fragile identity. They genuinely feel the threat that imported western expertise will bring in imported western values, which may in time destroy their own cultural identity. The less of a threat the sojourners appear to be, the more acceptable they will be to the hosts. There really is no need for overzealous identification with local ways as such attempts to out-Herod Herod will only be comic at worst and amusing at best. Neither should the sojourner be seen meddling with local ways in order to improve and "modernize" them unless it is officially part of his brief. Most host societies, including the U.S., expect from sojourners only understanding and respect for local ways, not involvement and interference.

It is a sociolinguistic fact that linguistic superiority generates superiority of power. The host countries realize the inevitability of their dependence on expatriates, and when the expatriates possess linguistic, economic and political superiority, the hosts are forced, sometimes reluctantly, to assume and adopt or at least put up with the norms, values, communicational pragmatics and interactional ethics of the expatriate sojourners. In other words, they are forced to play the game according to the rules of the foreigners merely because the foreigners control the technology and politics of the game. In Third World countries, in academic meetings, conferences and discussions, conducted in English often solely for the benefit of the expatriates, the NNS's superior factual knowledge, logic and reasoning sometimes defer to the NS's superior fluency and control of the language and hence control of the interactional process out of sheer expediency. This is further compounded by the pragmatics of the interaction: a conflict between the factual-inductive[3] logic of an aggressive self-promoting culture on the one hand and the intuitive-affective or axiomatic-deductive rhetorical style of a deferential, self-effacing culture on the other. ***This may well turn out to be the black man's burden for some time to come.*** A little care should help the sojourner handle such delicate situations gracefully.

How then are we to tackle the problem? A short-term, piece-meal, pre-sojourn orientation, even if feasible, is going to be eminently ineffective. What we need here is not a pain killer, but a remover of the cause of the pain. What the prospective traveller abroad needs is a good intercultural perspective to develop the necessary cultural flex to cope with any alien situation, not just ***an*** alien situation. If the English-speaking disseminators of knowledge and information cross-nationally and cross-culturally have to fulfil their role of international leadership satisfactorily without conflict and confrontation, greater geographical and anthropological literacy and better intercultural education should be made an integral part of their professional training in the interests of better international cooperation. It should also be stressed that a crucial concomitant of effective international communication is sensitivity to the non-monolithic nature of today's vehicle of world communication, the English language.

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NOTES

[1] For instance, the Harpers Magazine of July 1985 (p.31) gives a survey report showing 22 items Americans thought 'they don't know how to get along without' --- from scotch tape (46%) to home computers (2%). A majority of Third World people would not even know of many of these items, let alone consider them indispensible.

[2] In A Yankee Learns to Bow, (New York Times Magazine, June 8, 1986, p.38-), Jeffrey S. Irish, a fresh Yale graduate, discusses rather vividly his mental and spiritual tribulations working as the only *gaijin* in an office in Tokyo, having to learn humility and ***tatemae***, and having to overcome his aggressive American directness.

[3] SECOL XXXVIII, Memphis, TN, Spring 1988.

[4] Two of my colleagues in the University of Papua New Guinea, a Papua New Guinean and an Anglo-Zimbabwean once nearly started a war, the bitterness and acrimony of which took a long time to die, all because they didn't agree on the denotation of 8:30 p.m.

[5] For hundreds of American-trained ESL teachers, a willing suspension of disbelief if not doctrinal faith in the universal infallibility of Krashen's theory of second language acquisition and of Kaplan's (1966) rhetorical patterns in ESL writing have been what Mark Clarke in another context (1983) calls 'some bizarre ritual required for membership in the profession' (p.112) despite valid challenges to the authenticity of both (e.g. Mclaughlin 1978, Farhady 1979, Sorace 1983, Gregg 1984 against Krashen and Hinds 1983, Mohan and Lo 1985, Mulamba 1988 and Littlejohn 1988 against Kaplan.)

[6] The Freshman English Program at the HaileSelassie I University in Ethiopia in the 70's was a clone of Freshman English writing courses in American Universities for no reason other than that the people who devised it were American expatriate Lecturers. The fact that an average Ethiopian in public and private life did most of his writing in Amharic and that even where he did write in English, what he wrote did not have much in common with the rhetoric of college composition did not seem to matter.

[7] It is no secret that there is a layer of ESL personnel in the U.S. who are primarily in the business of saving souls, to which end they use ESL as a contact or 'reach out' point. While not discounting their zeal and ambition, it would be wise to think what our reaction would be if the situation was reversed and if it were our spiritual orientations that were tampered with by foreigners.

[8] A recent (personal) letter from an American ESL teacher loudly lamented the religious hypocrisy of the somewhat fundamentalist country he was working in. Ironically, the letter arrived at the time of the two loud scandals associated with top Televangelists in the U.S.! Again, Talking about the difficulties of 'getting things done' in that country, the letter complains, 'It's the same as in Latin America: what's true, honest, fair and correct is secondary to who you know. And because foreigners always have fewer connections than host country nationals, they are the ones who get burned.' Whether this is a valid criticism of the host country or an example of the writer's ethnocentric intellectual pettiness is anybody's guess. The interpretation of the former part of the criticism depends upon what one means by abstractions like honesty, truth, fairness etc., which are by no means objectively universal. As for the latter part of 'who you know' and xenophobia, I am yet to see a community in the world (except perhaps Erewhon) where this is not true.

[9] Glen, Witmeyer, and Stevenson (1977) identify different styles of logic and rhetorical organization among different peoples of the world. They define three such styles and posit that West Europeans and Americans have a factual-inductive style, East Europeans have an axiomatic-deductive style and Middle-Easterners have an intuitive-affective style. They argue that lack of recognitions of these different styles substantially contribute to international miscommunication.

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PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Jeff Connor-Linton

This paper reports on a student project incorporating pragmatic analysis into the second language classroom. In a project inspired by Heath (1983), ESL students in a freshman composition class were organized into cooperative learning groups to analyze variation in use of a number of linguistic features across a set of texts representing several kinds of argument. Students tried to account for variation in the frequency and use of features across texts in terms of the features' possible pragmatic functions and the demands of the communicative context, especially participation structure, and then reported their results--descriptive and explanatory--to the rest of the class. Students subsequently explained and justified their use of these features in several of their own essays.

The project's design encouraged close involvement with differing texts (through transcription and quantitative analysis), a focus on the relation between linguistic form, context and function, and student interaction within their zones of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). The results of students' own analyses demonstrate that this kind of direct pragmatic experience promotes a different awareness of the potential uses of language than is usually achieved by more traditional structural or rhetorical approaches to teaching writing.

INTRODUCTION

Given the greater contextual resources of face-to-face communication, it is not surprising that the pragmatics of written communication have received less attention. Yet pragmatic resources for interpretation are just as important to communicative success in writing and reading as in speaking and hearing. It is true that a number of the pragmatic channels of face-to-face interaction are not available in written communication, especially the information conveyed by conversational synchrony, turn-taking structures, proxemics, gestures and facial expressions, and much physical deixis. However, several very important pragmatic resources remain in written communication, especially indices of social and epistemological information--information about the writer's view and construction of the relation between herself and her interlocutors, and between herself and her utterance (Silverstein, 1976). The writer, as much as (if not more than) the speaker, communicates by locating herself in relation to the participants and referents of the discourse

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(Biber, 1985, 1988, Connor-Linton, 1988, Urban, 1988).

Most of the work that has been done on the pragmatics of writing has been done under the banner of stylistics (Fowler and Kress, 1979, Leech and Short, 1981, Bailey, 1979, Morton and Levison, 1966) and has primarily taken as its subject "literary" texts rather than more "pedestrian" uses of writing. Student writing, on the other hand, has been analyzed from nearly every other theoretical perspective, and these analyses often suggest ways to change the way students write. But the vast majority of research on student writing has created inefficient barriers between students and the analysis of their own writing behavior. This research (and much of its classroom application) does not, I think, give enough credit to students' ability to analyze their own--and others'--uses of language. Students are usually passive subjects of writing research; either "normal" class assignments are taken for the researcher's database or a special writing task is assigned. Students are rarely invited to join in the analysis of their own writing, and rarely experience the results of those analyses.

Recent research has demonstrated the ability of second language learners to analyze specific pragmatic aspects of the target language and directly apply the results of those analyses to their own use of the target language to improve their communicative success. For example, Shirley Brice Heath, during a 1988 lecture at the University of Southern California, spoke of a high school ESL class which, using ethnographic methods, analyzed the language used in service encounters. These teenagers taped, transcribed, and analyzed various aspects of service encounters, and noticed, for example, that native speakers of English pause between phrases and clauses and not within them. They concluded that the placement of pauses at syntactic boundaries contributed to fluency in English and improved the success of their own service encounters.

Much of the communicative trouble ESL students experience, especially in their writing, has as much to do with pragmatics as with issues of grammar and essay structure; in fact, very often learning the correct pragmatic "move" solves a related grammatical or structural problem in a student's writing, especially those related to the author's epistemological stance toward her own sentences (and their referents) and social stance toward her readers (Scollon and Scollon, 1981).

This paper reports the results of a project designed to incorporate analysis of the pragmatic functions of a variety of linguistic features into the second language writing classroom. Students identified and measured the frequency of occurrence of several sets of lexical and syntactic features which previous research (Quirk et al., 1972, Quirk, 1985) has demonstrated to perform the functions of indicating how the writer/speaker structures the relations between herself, her interlocutor(s), and discourse referents and propositions.

Using their quantitative evidence, students came to conclusions about the pragmatic functions of these features in verbal and written argumentation and suggested to their classmates ways to use these features more effectively in their own writing.

The experience of the students who participated in this project demonstrates the pedagogical value to second language learners of focusing on the pragmatic functions of various linguistic features. They gain a new, pragmatic perspective on language--that it is a multi-functional tool which they use everyday, a tool which they use differently in different situations. With this new perspective, students gain a new vocabulary for talking about their use of language. They learn to view their own writing as an object of analysis, which improves self-editing skills and the ultimate quality of their writing. Perhaps most importantly, the results of this project point out the strategic importance of role-playing--that is, creating and effectively communicating relationships between the speaker/writer and her interlocutor(s) and discourse referents--in acquiring communicative competence in a second language. However, it should be noted that this general approach could also be used in teaching native English speakers, since literacy is, in many ways, a form of second language acquisition/learning (Scribner and Cole, 1981).

The report is divided into three parts. First I summarize the project itself--what the students did and why. Next, I allow the results of the students' efforts to speak for themselves, offering samples of their quantitative findings and qualitative conclusions. Finally, I discuss the implications of these results for teaching and acquiring literacy, especially in a second language.

THE PROJECT

Groups of four or five freshman ESL students first analyzed variation in the frequencies and uses of nine classes of linguistic features across eight different texts. Their goal was to discover some of the pragmatic functions and rhetorical uses of the features in constructing an argument. There were four groups of students, looking at the use of features commonly associated with reference (pronouns and nouns), cohesion (subordination and corrdination), relative abstractness (passives and nominalizations), and persuasive effort (modals, amplifiers and emphatics, and so-called 'mental verbs') (Biber, 1988, Quirk et al., 1972, Quirk, 1985). Each group of students analyzed the functions of their assigned set of features in two "model" essays (written by Albert Einstein and Lewis Thomas, respectively), in three anonymous student essays on the topic of scientific ethics, and in a one-on-one debate, a small team debate, and a large group discussion.

To create a database, students first wrote timed essays arguing the extent of scientists' ethical responsibilities. Then they debated several issues in different formats: one-on-

one, two-on-two, and an open discussion of scientific ethics. These debates were recorded on audiotape; each student then transcribed a portion of the tape. They also heuristically evaluated three timed student essays on the topic of scientific ethics from a previous year. Their evaluations indicated general agreement that one essay was quite good, another fair, and the third poor. The students discussed the implications of their consensus and made explicit the standards they used in evaluating these essays. (Evaluating other anonymous students' writing allowed more objective and critical evaluation.) This was the first step in getting students to act as editors and to increase their awareness of specific argumentative strategies.

In groups, students then measured and compared the frequencies of the target features across all eight texts, trying to account for differences, for example, between spoken and written argument or good and bad writing, and to identify each feature's grammatical and indexical functions. That is, what sort of pragmatic information did the use of each feature impart in the text? Students then reported their results to each other, orally and in writing, emphasizing implications for effective writing. These results are excerpted in the next section.

Next, the students wrote a second in-class essay (on a new, different topic), revised it and made a log of their revisions, explaining their revisions and operationalizing the passive pragmatic knowledge they had just received from each other's reports. These three essays then served as the database for a second pragmatic analysis by each student of his or her own writing. This step of the project required students to apply the pragmatic principles they had discovered to their own writing.

The method of analysis was to discern variation in the frequencies and contexts of speakers' and writers' uses of the target linguistic features and to use these comparisons as the basis for an analysis of these features' different pragmatic functions. A quantitative approach is a useful 'way in' to the data because it gives student ethnographers something concrete to measure, as well as some concrete data for evidence and examples later on. It should be stressed that the numbers only raise questions; they do not, in themselves, answer questions. The students' overriding concern throughout the analysis was the advice they could give each other about the use of the features they had analyzed--in writing and in speaking. Notice that a quantitative approach requires student ethnographers to practice argumentative writing in their reports; observations must refer to specific examples, and conclusions must rest upon the discovery and explanation of patterns of concrete evidence.

SAMPLE RESULTS OF THE STUDENT ANALYSIS

To represent the level of the students' pragmatic analysis, I have excerpted several samples from their reports. (I have also retained the students' original grammar and spelling.) What is remarkable in these observations and conclusions is how closely many of them correspond to previous research in pragmatics. In addition to independently corroborating previous conclusions about some of the target features' distributional and functional characteristics, this correspondence suggests the salience of these features' pragmatic functions; they were discerned with relative ease by "amateur" ethnographers, analyzing a non-native language, with minimal time and guidance. (Participants in the project read only one article (Fowler and Kress, 1979), containing a qualitative functional analysis, as a model for their own research and reports.) This correspondence also suggests the analytical abilities of language learners, which have so far been infrequently recognized and even less frequently exploited in language classrooms. It is a widely accepted linguistic belief that members of a speech community engage in some sorts of analysis, however subconscious, in acquiring linguistic and communicative competence in the language of that speech community (Chomsky, 1965, Ochs and Schieffelin, 1983). The student observations presented below suggest that making these sorts of analyses conscious can improve students' communicative success.

What's pedagogically important in the following observations is that the students discovered linguistic functions for themselves, in their own terms, and related their discoveries to each other in their own terms; this active involvement is a far more effective learning strategy than passive response to a teacher's comments on a draft of an essay (Krashen, 1984). Also, their observations provide a well-contextualized point of departure for further discussions of writing styles and strategies and a useful point of reference for their own writing experiments and development.

Cohesion

The group of students analyzing some of the features commonly associated with cohesion (subordination and coordination) made a number of valuable observations. Writing instructors especially will appreciate one student's discussion of the use of coordination and subordination in good and bad student writing:

> In essays where there were less frequent use of subordination and coordination one trait is clear. It is hard to read and not effective in persuasion. The lack of these cohesive words causes the essay to be abrupt....The reader is left to infer what was meant and tie the ideas together.
>
> In addition, the lack of cohesive words, especially subordination, does not allow the writer to fully develop the concept at hand. Without these words, similar ideas become distant. But more importantly, the lack of them implies that the point

> contained in each sentence is truly distant from the next.

This student recognized that less overt connection between clauses places more of a demand on the reader and that coordination and subordination are resources which authors can utilize to make their ideas, and the connections between them, more explicit. Of equal importance, the act of self-discovery was transformed into one of public instruction. The student had to formulate and make sense of his observation in order to teach it to the rest of the class in his portion of the group's oral report, referring to examples from the texts they had all analyzed and building a case for his "theory" of a correspondence between connective use, meaning, and writing proficiency. The teaching task forced him to consider and present his observation in a different context than mere recognition requires. And the student ethnographer conveyed his discovery to his peers at their own level of understanding and sophistication.

Another student, while agreeing with his group partners that there was a general correlation between frequency of connectives and effective writing, recognized that too much connection was also a problem. He accounted for a very high frequency of connectives in the mediocre student essay with a fairly sophisticated theory of overlearning:

> As a person learns to write he is first taught to form simple sentences. Such as 'I have a sister.' and 'She wears green dresses.' As time goes on the person learns how to combine facts in sentences to make the reading easier. This is pushed for many years there after. The person then always thinks of this when he writes his essay and gradually increases the amount of connective words in his written as well as spoken language....This results in that the sentences contain to many facts and are hard to understand. He is then taught to form sentences with just the right amount of information so that the sentence [is] clear and the amount of connective words decreases a little.

Notice how closely this corresponds to the hypothesis of overregularization of rules in much language acquisition research (e.g., Cazden, 1968). And consider how much more valuable this observation is to the student writer revising a first draft than the teacher's scrawled telegraphic comments: "Run-on sentence", "Fragment", "Connection?", "Transition needed".

Another student, comparing the use of connectives in spoken versus written arguments, noted first that

> In one to one discussion,...speakers tend to speak in complete and coherent sentences. Each speaker takes his/her time to phrase his/her speech carefully because he/she does not have anyone else to

> help him/her out. The speaker must carry out his thought and present it to other people in a coherent and logical way.

This student found that participants in large group discussions spoke more frequently in fragments, adding on to or qualifying previous utterances so that points were not made by any single speaker but were developed by the whole group. In this case, pragmatic analysis of one feature of language led the student to recognize one example of the essentially co-operative nature of all communication, spoken and written. Her observation echoes some of the conclusions reached by Haviland (1987), Goodwin and Goodwin (1987), Ochs, Schieffelin and Platt (1979) and others about multi-party conversation. It suggests that second language learners who have difficulty constructing utterances or arguments out of whole cloth by themselves may find it easier to participate in a group construction of meaning. This task sharing resembles that done by caregiver and child in first language acquisition and allows students to more fully work in and exploit what Vygotsky (1978) calls their "zones of proximal development", the set of cognitive tasks which they can perform only through social collaboration.

The same student also noted that this additive approach to directed large group discussion was served as well by speakers' frequent use of _and_ and _but_ to begin floor turns and compete for the floor. A speaker's use of _and_ to begin his turn on the floor, she said, promises that there will be a loose, general connection between the speaker's contribution and prior utterances in the conversation, while starting a floor turn with _but_ immediately establishes a contradictory relationship with the immediately preceding utterance. Another student, reviewing the transcript of the large group discussion in light of this observation, said that he could map out the speakers on both sides of the debate fairly accurately by their use of turn-initial _and_--establishing association and agreement--and _but_--marking dissociation and opposition. These observations led to a discussion of how _and_ and _but_ can be used in writing to structure the paper's argument and lead the reader from one perspective to the next, from pro to con and back again.

Reference

The students who analyzed the frequencies and contexts of use of pronouns and proper nouns pointed out that writers' use of _we_, _us_, and _ourselves_ indexed different persuasive strategies, each appropriate and viable under different circumstances. One student noted that a scientist like Lewis Thomas...

> ...need not and should not use so many first person plural pronouns ... [because] the essay would be supported with more personal opinions than with scientific facts. [However,] since the students are not scientists who had done some research before

> writing the essays, they just point out what most Americans feel about [the topic]. Therefore, the students tend to use more we, us, and ourselves in order to team up with the common people in the U.S. The students attempted to approach the readers with a different way by making the readers feel that they were on the side of the writers as they read through the essays.

This student's observation corresponds with previous research on the role of deixis in the writer's manipulation of her relation to the reader and to the topic. Urban (1986) demonstrates how Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger associates himself and his ideas with certain persons and dissociates himself and his argument from others through the use of pronouns. Connor-Linton (1988) shows how authors writing about nuclear arms control use pronominal reference to merge the author's and reader's perspectives and to identify the constituencies for whom they speak. The student's observation above suggests the ubiquity and salience of this rhetorical strategy at all levels of argumentative writing.

Another student noted that more frequent use of proper nouns in the articles by Albert Einstein and Lewis Thomas both reflected and helped to establish and maintain the authors' expertise and credibility:

> They refer to places, person, or things by proper nouns more frequently than the other texts. This makes their texts more credible, because they do not make their point through vague generalities, but refer to specific events and authorities.

For this student, this discovery was worth more than a whole semester of scribbled comments on his papers: "Vague", "Be specific", "Give examples." He made the connection between specificity and persuasiveness himself.

Persuasion

Another group of students found that too frequent use of possibility modals (can, could, may, might) and amplifiers/emphatics (very, a lot, etc.) made the writer sound less confident--hedging and "trying to replace real argument with flag-waving." They noticed that the more confident-sounding, more persuasive student essay used predictives like will more often than the less persuasive student essays. Where the good student essay did use amplifiers and emphatics, they were integral to the sentence's meaning; in the poorer essays they were frequently superfluous window-dressing.

Relative Abstractness

Finally, the students analyzing the use of passives and nominalizations noted that both seemed to index more planned speech events; they were more frequent in the model essays than in the timed student essays, and least frequent in spoken discussions. The students noticed that passives could be used to promote noun phrases to the beginning of a sentence to indicate the writer's focus or to emphasize the importance of a noun phrase referent. They advised their fellow students that while some passives contribute to the cohesiveness of an essay, too many passives slow the reader down, make issues of agency and responsibility unclear and, like too many nominalizations, dissipate the impact of ideas.

PEDAGOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS

The main value of the students' pragmatic analysis outlined above was that, whether the conclusions were original or obvious, the students actively discovered them for themselves, learning a methodology for self-instruction and improvement of communicative skills, a way to think and teach themselves about using their second language. The project reveals several other pedagogical benefits to be gained from incorporating pragmatic analysis into the second language writing classroom.

The students' own observations point out one value of the approach: a learner discovers what is important to her at that point in her individual development. The focus is shifted from the teacher and the teacher's way of seeing writing to the students and their ways of seeing writing. The shift in focus allows student writers to look at their own writing critically and gives them some concrete tools with which to begin revising their writing. This concrete approach to revision forces student writers to consider the effect of their language choices on their readership, one of the characteristics of good writers identified by Flower and Hayes (1980). The use of language becomes a skill which can be practiced and honed. Students who analyze their own use of language demystify the process for themselves: writing teachers too frequently offer advice that sounds like magical incantation ("Be more specific," "Transition needed," "Support"); students analyzing their own use of particular linguistic features make sense of it in their own terms.

Because students make these discoveries on their own, in their own terms, they can often relate those lessons to their classmates more understandably and effectively than the teacher can hope to do (although the attentive teacher can learn a new, more understandable vocabulary for talking about writing from her students). Pragmatic analysis in the second language writing classroom requires students to rely on each other, to develop strategies for using their peers in problem-solving in the second language. This is a valuable lesson since throughout life it is their peers who will be their resources in all sorts of tasks, most of them using language. Teachers are a temporary resource at best.

But what do these students' observations tell us about how they learn to write in a second language? To answer that question I must first sketch in a particular view of language acquisition--that children, and adults, are socialized through their use of language, and that people's use of language both maintains and recreates a culture's social structure and worldview, and that language therefore is a major source of information--for talkers and discourse analysts--about how speakers see themselves and their world.

Much recently reported research in first language acquisition, especially that done by "sociocognitivists" like Lev Vygotsky, Elinor Ochs, and Bambi Schieffelin, demonstrates that children's acquisition of language is intimately tied to their socialization into society and culture, and that cultural knowledge is inherent in and maintained by communicative competence. Much of a child's appropriate use of language requires and reflects knowledge of what Michael Silverstein (1976) calls direct and indirect indices of social roles and relationships. These indices are constituted and communicated by the cooccurrence patterns of a wide range of linguistic features. A child learns to recognize and play these different social roles by their relatively distinct sets of co-occurrence patterns, or registers. To a great extent, children acquire knowledge through playing roles. I'd like to suggest that a major part of a speaker's communicative competence involves monitoring the relative frequencies of many features of the language used by speakers, a sort of "probability calculus" of shifting organizations of social reality. A child's acquisition of communicative competence is, in great part, the subconscious discovery of this "calculus". Much of what is called communicatively competent, appropriate speech is the child demonstrating her awareness of a social contract and a shared worldview, and contributing to its maintenance.

Other research, like that of the Scollons, Sylvia Scribner and Michael Cole, shows that the acquisition of literacy is similarly enmeshed in social roles and relationships. People acquire literacy through particular social roles. Awareness of the social roles associated with learning to write in a society may ease and enhance the learning process.

The most interesting thing these students' pragmatic self-analyses showed was the way they employed authorial voices. A particularly effective communicative strategy employed by students--when it was available to them--was playing a role. Playing a role gives the student writer a voice, a consistent style, and that style helps the student writer to organize her understanding of her topic. It guides what the writer writes about, and how. This voice is often what is missing from second language speakers' utterances and writing; it is what often makes their utterances sound inappropriate to native speakers and may even contribute to crosscultural miscommunication, or crosstalk (Gumperz, 1982). Students who play a situationally appropriate role--through their use of language--are more communicatively successful in their second language.

The first in-class writing topic these students were assigned was a rather general, abstract piece about the ethical responsibilities of the scientist. For the most part, students parroted the view of one or another of the articles they had read in preparing for the writing assignment, and perhaps the biggest problem in their essays was one of inconsistency: what the student thought about the issue was often irretrievably buried among various quotes, few of which were discussed. The relevance of examples was not explained, and the overall effect was one of confusion and a lack of perspective. That is, the student writer did not establish her relations to the reader and the subject matter.

During analysis of the spoken arguments which they had taped and transcribed, students noted that they often fell into role-playing to get their line of reasoning started: "If I were a nuclear physicist, how would I sound?" In response to this, the second in-class essay assignment asked the students to pretend that they were each the dean of students at the university, responding in the student newspaper to the announcement that one of the fraternities intended to show X-rated films once a week.

These students seem to have learned particularly quickly the register of bureaucratic authority. Not only were these essays much better than the first set (on average, grades were 50 percent higher), but many students specifically referred to matters of tone and voice in explaining their revisions. For example, one student loaded his revision with nominalizations and passives "because it sounds official." Another student changed one of her passives to an active form "because I wanted the students to know who was responsible for the decision." When asked, most of the students admitted that their main concern in writing an essay is not presenting their own opinion, but finding a position which they can develop consistently. A specific, familiar persona and its voice provide this.

Most of the students who participated in this project--and many of the ESL students entering American universities--have a pretty good grasp of the "mechanics" of written English; they spell well, they don't write run-on sentences or fragments too often, and they know Western essay structure. But their writing lacks cohesion and a consistent style. What they lack is not linguistic competence per se, but communicative competence. The problem is not putting together words into a sentence or sentences into an essay, but doing so in an appropriate style or voice. The experience of the students in this project suggests that second language learners may learn easiest where they can ventriloquate a specific others' use of the language, where they can play a role. This was an important strategy in acquiring their first language, and it may be very useful in acquiring a second language. The teacher in the second language writing classroom may best serve his students by helping them to learn the various linguistic "styles" played by writers in the culture, and one good way of communicating such sociolinguistic information is through the kind of pragmatic analysis outlined in this article.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORICAL STRUCTURES OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE EDITORIALS

Thomas Ricento

This paper examines differences in the rhetorical structure of English and *Japanese* newspaper editorials. Two approaches to characterize rhetorical differences were used. First, textual features were described and measured (where appropriate); these include cohesion, thematic continuity, rhetorical patterns, literary conventions, reader/writer responsibility and cultural values/attitudes. Second, an experiment was conducted in which 23 native English speakers and 30 bilingual native Japanese speakers re-ordered the scrambled paragraphs of editorials and provided titles and summaries for each of the texts.

Results of the descriptive and experimental portions of the study provide evidence that certain rhetorical patterns are found in both languages and are relatively equally familiar to both native English speakers and native Japanese speakers who were all UCLA graduate students from a variety of disciplines. It was also found that there may be greater textual variation within one genre--the editorial--(at least in English) than has been accounted for in previous research in which only syntactic and lexical aspects of surface structure were measured. In fact, it was found that in English editorials, different writing styles and different communicative goals will result in variable distribution of coherence constructs and rhetorical patterns.

Implications for second language learning and teaching are discussed.

This paper reports the results of a contrastive study of the rhetorical structures and coherence markers in editorials from American and Japanese newspapers. Included in the study was an experiment to ascertain the degree to which native speakers of English and Japanese were able to activate appropriate formal schema in a paragraph re-ordering task.

This research builds on prior research conducted by a number of scholars working in applied linguistics, rhetoric, and psychology. Since the publication of Kaplan's 1966 Language Learning article in which he posited that logic, and hence rhetoric, is culturally based, applied linguists have been conducting crosslinguistic research in a number of languages. In the area of Japanese rhetoric, John Hinds (1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1987), H. Kobayashi (1984), N. Inoue (1986), and M. Iwasaki and K. Hayasaka (1984), to name a few, have conducted data-based contrastive research using different methodologies in an attempt to describe similarities and differences in the discourse structures of Japanese and English. One of the practical goals of this research has been to provide language teachers with a better understanding of why Japanese ESL students make certain kinds of errors, or employ rhetorical or stylistic strategies in their academic writing which seem foreign to native English speakers. Although the data bases are varied, ranging from student compositions to professionally written texts from different genres, significant differences in the rhetorical structures in the two languages have been identified in all of these studies.

An area of research upon which the current study has relied is schema theory. In recent years, there have been a number of studies on the role played by familiarity with formal and content schema in reading and writing in the ESL context, although such interest in this topic is not new. In 1945, Fries talked about the importance of culturally-based background knowledge in reading comprehension. More recently, Hudson (1982) found comprehension of ESL students was facilitated by the explicit inducing of content schema through pre-reading activities. Hinds (1983a, 1983b) found that lack of familiarity with a Japanese rhetorical pattern, ki-shoo-ten-ketsu, by native English speakers caused problems for those readers, particularly with delayed recall comprehension questions. Carrell has conducted a number of studies on the role played by schema in reading and writing in ESL (1981a, 1984b, 1985, 1986). In one of the few studies which attempted to measure the relative contributions of content and formal schema in ESL reading, Carrell (1986) found that when either form or content was unfamiliar, unfamiliar content posed more difficulties for readers than did unfamiliar form. However, she also found that rhetorical form was more important than content in the comprehension of the top-level episodic structure of a text, and in the comprehension of event sequences and temporal relationships among events. Her conclusion was that each component--form and content--plays an important, but different role in the comprehension of text.

In Carrell's 1986 study, the forms of texts were manipulated while the content was held constant. The sentences in two versions of two texts were scrambled, thus creating an unfamiliar rhetorical organization. In the current study, consultants were required to recreate a text by ordering the scrambled paragraphs of a text. The rationale for this procedure is that by comparing consultants' reconstructed texts with the original texts, we can measure the degree to which consultants--individually and as members of defined speech communities--are able to invoke appropriate formal rhetorical schemas in carrying out their assigned task.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The questions I sought to answer were:

1. What effect does knowledge or lack of knowledge of culturally-based formal schema have on readers' abilities to re-order the scrambled paragraphs of texts of approximately 500 words and about 8 paragraphs;

2. Is there a correlation between familiarity with a formal schema and comprehension of a text as measured by written summaries and titles (comprehension here is limited to getting the gist of a text, not whether readers understood the more subtle points of authors' stance or whether they could make inferences, etc.);

3. Does the relative presence or absence of identified coherence constructs correlate with readers' abilities to reconstruct scrambled texts?

THE TEXTS

The data consist of 10 Japanese texts and ten English translations of these 10 texts. All of the texts are from the _Asahi Shimbun_; 5 are from the regular weekly column entitled "Tensei Jingo", and 5 are from a regular column entitled "Weekend Special". For comparison purposes, a control group of 5 English editorials was selected from _The New York Times_, _The Los Angeles Times_, _The Washington Post_, and _The Los Angeles Herald Examiner_. The Japanese texts averaged 8 paragraphs and 410 words in length, with the shortest text 6 paragraphs and the longest 12 paragraphs in length, and ranging from 316 words to 528 words. The 5 English texts ranged from 4 to 6 paragraphs in length, and from 319 to 390 words. I should mention that these texts were the closest I could find to English editorials in terms of purpose, length, and general style, although any sophisticated judgement would require a broad-based quantitative study of texts to see if these particular texts fall within a genre we could label 'editorial'.[1] Since the experimental task involved the reading of texts, criteria were established to limit the confounding effects caused by level of difficulty of subject matter or language deficiencies in English on the part of the bilingual Japanese consultants.

The following procedures for text selection were used:

1. texts which required that readers possess particular technical knowledge in order to understand the content were excluded;

2. texts dealing with local or regional topics were excluded (this applies only to the Japanese texts, since these were read by both native Japanese speakers (NJS) and native English speakers (NES) in Japanese and English versions);

3. texts which required that the reader be familiar with particular customs, attitudes, or rituals were excluded.

In order to insure that English comprehension was not a confounding variable for the NJS, two pilot studies were conducted on consultants similar to those who were eventually part of the study. Over 90% of the texts considered for inclusion in the study were rejected due to unsuitability of topics, difficulty of language, or length. Based on the summaries and titles provided by the Japanese and American readers, as well as the results of follow-up interviews, none of the texts finally used in the research proved to be overly difficult as far as content is concerned.

Although topic was not controlled in all of the texts, two of the texts in each language deal with the same topic (the death of Prime Minister Olaf Palme, and the coming to power of Corazon Aquino in the Philippines).

TRANSLATION OF TEXTS

An English translation of each of the Japanese texts appears in the Asahi Shimbun. These translations are consistent from a stylistic point of view; they maintain the same sentence order and overall discourse organization of the original Japanese. A professional translator cross-checked the translations with the original Japanese, and found they were, by and large, faithful to the originals. The translations were idiomatic but did contain certain phrases or words which might have appeared unusual to English readers.

THE EXPERIMENTAL TASK

The Readers

Consultants were all UCLA graduate students from a variety of disciplines, including history, political science, engineering, business, anthropology, English, TESL, and computer science. Language proficiency of the native Japanese speakers was evaluated by oral interview and assumed on the basis of the fact that all of the consultants were graduate students in good standing at UCLA. Follow-up interviews were conducted with all consultants to be certain that comprehension was not a problem.

The Task

Consultants met with the researcher in his office; each consultant was given an envelope with a scrambled text and a blank piece of paper. Consultants were asked to place the paragraphs in the correct order, and then to write down the corresponding letters next to each paragraph in order. They were given no time limit to complete the task. Once this was completed, the text was taken away and the consultant was given another piece of paper which asked for the consultant's name, major subject at UCLA, length of time in the U.S., and length of time at UCLA. Consultants were asked to write a title and 2-3 sentence summary of the text they had just read. Upon completion of the questionnaire, each consultant was given a different text and the same procedure was used. Texts were assigned randomly to subjects.

In order to control for any practice effect or skewing of results due to the order in which the texts were presented, the following procedure was used. Native Japanese speakers read one Japanese and one different translated text; 50% of the readers read the Japanese text first, 50% read an English translation first. In addition, each native Japanese speaker read one text from the "Tensei Jingo" column and one from the "Weekend Special" column. The same procedure with English translations of the Japanese texts was used with native English speakers. Finally, each of the five original English texts was read by 3 different native English speakers, each consultant reading 2 different texts.

To summarize, each version of the 10 Japanese texts was read by 3 different readers, for a total of 90 readings (30 readings of the original Japanese texts by native Japanese speakers, and 60 readings of the English translations, 30 each by native Japanese speakers and native English speakers). None of the original Japanese texts was read by native English speakers, which accounts for the relatively fewer readings of the original Japanese texts compared to the number of readings of the English translations of the Japanese texts. In addition, there were a total of 15 readings of the 5 original English texts. In all, 30 bilingual native Japanese speakers and 23 monolingual native English speakers participated in the study.

Textual Variables Measured and Described

Variables which were counted were of two general types: cohesion and thematic continuity. Under cohesion, using Halliday and Hasan's (1976) taxonomy, the following were included: Referential cohesion (personal, demonstrative, comparative), Lexical cohesion (exact repetition, synonym, part-whole member-class, morphological variant), and Conjunction (additive, temporal, causal, and adversative). Under the general heading thematic continuity, topical focus, transition statements, and paragraph linking were measured. Topical focus is measured by the number of times a thematic participant appears in sentential subject position. Transition statements refers to the ratio of transition statements to the total number of paragraphs in the text. Paragraph linking refers to the ratio of linking paragraphs to the total number of paragraphs in the text. Two types of linkage are described: head-to-head and tail-to-head based on Longacre's 1976 description. [For a more detailed description of these variables, see Ricento (1987).]

Variables which were described are rhetorical patterns, literary conventions, reader/writer responsibility, and cultural values/attitudes. Meyer's 1985 taxonomy of rhetorical patterns is used to describe the 5 English texts and the 10 Japanese texts: these are collection, causation, response, comparison, description. For the Japanese texts, 2 additional rhetorical patterns were identified. The first is referred to in Japanese as ki-shoo-ten-ketsu; the second is jo-ha-kyuu. Ki-shoo-ten-ketsu is described by Takemata (1976: 26) as follows:

A. ki - First, begin one's argument
B. shoo - Next, develop that.
C. ten - At the point where this development is finished, turn the idea to a subtheme where there is a connection, but not a directly connected association [to the major theme].
D. ketsu -Last, bring all of this together and reach a conclusion.

Although this pattern derives from Chinese poetry, it is considered to be a suitable style for all genres of written discourse, including academic expository prose (Hosaka, 1978). Jo-ha-kyuu is described by Hinds (1983b) as corresponding to a looser version of the introduction-body-conclusion pattern found in English expository prose. According to Aihara (1976), this pattern originates from the organization of classical dance music and allows a very broad organization. For example, jo does not require a thesis statement nor a blueprint. What is important to know about these Japanese patterns is that in previous research (for example, Hinds (1983a)), native English speakers who rated translated texts which used the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern gave relatively lower scores on measures of unity, focus, and coherence compared to scores given by native Japanese speakers. Hinds (1983a) attributed these relatively lower scores to lack of familiarity with this pattern on the part of native English speakers. There is no comparable research on the degree to which native English speakers are familiar with the jo-ha-kyuu pattern.

Literary conventions described include formulaic/stylistic usages (such as the use of anecdotes in introductory paragraphs), rhetorical questions, and the use of aphorisms, particularly in closing paragraphs. Reader/writer responsibility is based on the relative use of transition statements which serve as bridges between two paragraphs. Transition statements indicate explicitly the semantic or logical relationships which exist between contiguous paragraphs. Under the heading cultural values/attitudes, a distinction is drawn between cultural perspective and cultural knowledge. The former denotes the intrusion of an ethnocentric orientation in the text; for example, the fact that a text is written in Japanese for Japanese readers will mean that the general orientation of reader and writer will be more congruent than it would be for native English speakers reading the text. On the other hand, cultural knowledge denotes the understanding of specific practices, customs, beliefs and attitudes peculiar to a society. In this study, only cultural perspective was considered as a variable.

Results of Text Analysis

In what follows, I will consider only those variables which proved most interesting in characterizing the texts.

First, lexical cohesion as a method of maintaining thematic continuity across paragraphs occurs with relatively equal frequency in both languages. The major difference is in synonomy: the mean for the Japanese texts is 2.5 compared to 4.8 in the English texts. This finding corroborates previous crosslinguistic research (Ricento, 1985) which found greater frequency of lexical repetition in Japanese prose compared to Spanish, Chinese, or English (the data base was high school social studies texts).

Second, Japanese texts use relatively more reference items in cross-paragraph cohesion (10.9 vs. 6.4) than do English texts.

Third, there is similarity in the relative lack of interparagraph cohesive conjunctions in both English and Japanese.

The most striking differences occur in paragraph linking, transition statements, and topical focus. In the 5 "Tensei Jingo" texts, 95% of the paragraphs are linked by a shared reference item; in the 5 "Weekend Special" texts, only 46% are linked; in the 5 English texts, 62% are linked. However, there was more variation among the English texts, perhaps reflecting greater stylistic diversity among the editorials which are from 4 different sources.

The second significant difference is in the relative frequency of transition statements; the ratios are .24 for the "Tensei Jingo" texts, .44 for the "Weekend Special" texts, and .59 for the English texts. These results support Hinds' claims about cultural differences in reader/writer responsibility; i.e., English readers expect and require transition statements so that they can "...piece together the thread of the writer's logic which binds the composition together...[while]...in Japanese ...[these statements] may be absent or attenuated since it is the reader's responsibility to determine the relationship between any one part of an essay and the essay as a whole" (Hinds, 1987, p. 146).

Results of topical focus were confounded by the fact that 2 of the "Tensei Jingo" and 2 of the English texts had humans as primary thematic participants, thus skewing the relative convergence of sentential subject and topic in these texts.

The final difference occurred in the distribution of the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu and jo-ha-kyuu patterns in the 10 Japanese texts. Four out of five of the "Tensei Jingo" texts have the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern, while all 5 of the "Weekend Special" texts follow the jo-ha-kyuu pattern. It is also noteworthy that four of the five "Tensei Jingo" texts are descriptive, while this is true for only one of the "Weekend Special" texts.

Results of Readers' Judgments

The following statistical procedures were carried out:

1. a Spearman rank-order correlation (Rho) was obtained for each reading;

2. interrater reliability was calculated using the Spearman-Brown Prophecy formula;

3. descriptive statistics were calculated for each group's performance in ordering the paragraphs.

Table 1 shows the mean rank-order correlation scores obtained by the native (bilingual) Japanese and native English-speaking readers who ordered the scrambled texts, both the original Japanese versions and the English translations. It also gives the mean score obtained by the 15 readers of the 5 original English texts. Table 2 provides interrater reliability scores for the same readers of these same texts.

DISCUSSION

By comparing results obtained from the analysis of texts with results of the paragraph re-ordering task, a number of tentative conclusions can be drawn. We must keep in mind that the sample size is relatively small, so that the conclusions or observations made here need to be verified in future studies.

Let us consider the first research question. Does knowledge or lack of knowledge of culturally-based formal schema have an effect on readers' abilities to re-order the scrambled paragraphs of texts? Based on the rank-order correlations obtained, such knowledge does have a noticeable effect. It appears that the structure of the "Tensei Jingo"

Table 1 - Rank-Order Correlations

"Tensei Jingo" Texts

	Language of Text	Native Language of Reader	Rho	sd
Grand Means (5 texts)	J	J	.78	.29
	E	J	.45	.45
	E	E	.37	.45

"Weekend Special" Texts

	Language of Text	Native Language of Reader	Rho	sd
Grand Means (5 texts)	J	J	.67	.35
	E	J	.62	.19
	E	E	.59	.31

English Texts

	Language of Text	Native Language of Reader	Rho	sd
Grand Means (5 texts)	E	E	.65	.44

Table 2 - Interrater Reliability

"Tensei Jingo" Texts

Native Lang. Reader	Lang. of Text	r Values					Range	Mean
J	J	.98	.97	.97	.87	.71	.27	.90
J	E	.97	.92	.77	.35	.03	.94	.61
E	E	.91	.63	.58	.53	.35	.56	.60

"Weekend Special" Texts

Native Lang. Reader	Lang. of Text	r Values					Range	Mean
J	J	.99	.94	.88	.76	.58	.41	.83
J	E	.93	.88	.88	.78	.54	.39	.80
E	E	.89	.89	.86	.82	.48	.41	.79

English Texts

Native Lang. Reader	Lang. of Text	r Values					Range	Mean
E	E	1.00	.91	.84	.73	.64	.36	.82

texts is more accesible to NJS than to NES. It is interesting to note that NJS who read the English translations of the "Tensei Jingo" texts apparently accessed English schema in re-ordering the paragraphs, since they assumed that these were original English texts. Four of the five "Tensei Jingo" texts used the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern; in contrast, none of the "Weekend Special" texts used this pattern. The pattern they did exhibit, jo-ha-kyuu, is rather similar to a pattern found in English expository prose, a pattern described by Hinds (1983b) as corresponding to the introduction-body-conclusion pattern not uncommon in English. This pattern appears to be relatively familiar to both NJS and NES as reflected in the similar rank-order correlations obtained by these groups of readers for the Weekend Special texts.

It is also interesting to note that in 4 of the 5 "Tensei Jingo" texts, description was identified as the highest level rhetorical structure based on Meyer's taxonomy for English texts; in contrast, in 4 out of 5 "Weekend Special" texts, response was identified as the highest level rhetorical organizing structure. It is difficult to assess the independent or interactive effects these different co-occurring patterns might have on readers' abilities to re-order texts. Carrell (1984b) found that the more tightly organized patterns of comparison, causation, and problem/solution facilitated the recall of specific ideas from a text than a more loosely organized pattern she called collection or description. However, in Carrell's study, content was controlled and rhetorical patterns were manipulated in the different texts. Also, comprehension was based on more detailed aspects of the text than was the case in the current study.

The second research question was to ascertain whether there is a correlation between familiarity with a formal schemata, as measured by rank-order correlations on the paragraph re-ordering task, and comprehension, as measured by written summaries and titles. Based on a comparative analysis of summaries and titles provided by the consultants, there is no evidence that familiarity with a formal schemata (as measured by readers' abilities to correctly reconstruct scrambled texts) correlates with the ability to identify the macroproposition, or 'gist', of a text. A typical strategy used by consultants was to group paragraphs together, and then try to decide the relative order of these groupings. Often, it was not apparent what the relative order of the groups should be, which accounted for the relatively low Rho scores obtained by many of the readers. For native Japanese-speaking readers of Tensei Jingo texts, deciding the relative order of paragraph groups appeared not to have been a problem because there was a high degree of shared cultural knowledge of what follows what in a text, or at least in texts in which the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern can be identified. However, even for native English speakers who read the English translations of the "Tensei Jingo" texts, the ability to identify groups of paragraphs by their semantic or pragmatic interconnectedness was evidenced by these readers' ability to gather the meaning (at least the overarching theme) of the text. Native English speakers' lack of familiarity with a culturally-based rhetorical pattern or style did not interfere with comprehension of the text; it did interfere with deciding the correct order of the paragraphs. This provides evidence that meaning does not crucially depend on the ordering of ideas, at least in these texts, and at least as far as the overall meaning is concerned.

All groups of readers were relatively equal in their ability to re-order the scrambled paragraphs of the "Weekend Special" texts. The jo-ha-kyuu pattern (used in all 5 of the "Weekend Special" texts) apparently allows for more variation in terms of possible groupings of paragraphs than does the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern, at least in the original Japanese. In the English translations of the "Weekend Special" texts, both NJS and NES were relatively more successful in grouping paragraphs than they were in grouping the paragraphs of the English translations of the "Tensei Jingo" texts. The reason for this may be found in considering the third research question.

The third question was whether the relative presence or absence of identified coherence constructs correlated with readers' abilities to reconstruct scrambled texts. These constructs were identified earlier as cohesion, topical focus, paragraph linking devices, and transition statements. Analysis along this dimension reveals that the relative lack of transition statements in the "Tensei Jingo" texts may account for the difficulty experienced by readers of the English translations in correctly re-ordering paragraphs, and provides support for Hinds' (1987) claim that readers of English text expect to find transition statements as guideposts which "bind the [text] together" (p. 146). The "Tensei Jingo" text which was the most difficult for NES to reconstruct, as reflected in mean rank-order correlation scores, also had the lowest ratio of transition statements, .14; the "Tensei Jingo" text which was the easiest for NES to reconstruct had the highest ratio, .37. In fact, of all of the coherence variables measured, transition statements was the only variable which had a strong positive correlation with readers' abilities to correctly reconstruct the English translations of the "Tensei Jingo" texts. (It should be mentioned at this point that the number of paragraphs in a text did not correlate with Rho scores, even though the mathematical possibilities of variant orders increases as the number of paragraphs increases.)

In the five original English texts, there appeared to be no strong correlation between the presence or absence of coherence variables and readers' ability to reconstruct scrambled texts. Although there were relatively more transition statements in the English texts than in the two types of Japanese texts, Rho scores for NES on the "Weekend Special" and original English texts were virtually identical.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

1. The notion often held by researchers and teachers that English expository prose is characterized by a linear, lock-step development in which the paragraphs in a stretch of discourse (of say 4 to 6 paragraphs) should follow one another in a particular sequence is not supported by this research. In fact, based on the results of the paragraph re-ordering task, Japanese texts which exhibit the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern appear to be more tightly structured than English editorials in this regard.

2. These results may provide indirect evidence of differences in American and Japanese schooling practices. The Japanese consultants I spoke with said that the paragraph re-ordering task was one they had performed many times in school. These consultants appeared to share knowledge of formal schema typically found in the "Tensei Jingo" passages. In contrast, the American consultants varied considerably in the ways they ordered the paragraphs of the English texts. The difference in standard deviation scores obtained by NJS on the "Tensei Jingo" texts (.29) and NES on the English texts (.44) may reflect the fact that the language arts curriculum is relatively more standardized in Japan compared to language arts curricula in the United States. Japanese students may be more enculturated to particular discourse styles and structures than their American counterparts.

3. An issue which needs to be explored in future research is whether editorials comprise a genre and can be characterized as having predictable rhetorical patterns and coherence constructs. It could be that the variety of communicative goals expressed in the editorials used in the current study is representative of the editorial genre, and

such diversity in communicative goals (i.e., persuasion, explanation, entertainment, information, description, etc.) is reflected in the greater variety of rhetorical patterns observed. To the extent the term genre implies predictability of such patterns, researchers in text should consider whether editorials do meet the requirement of predictability, or whether sub-types should be identified within the general editorial genre. From the pedagogical perspective, ESL teachers should be aware that the rhetorical patterns found in editorials in English are as variable as the communicative goals they embody.

4. Of interest to researchers in ESL reading is the fact that NJS who have attained graduate student status in an American university appear to have acquired schema associated with English written discourse. Based on a comparison of rank-order correlations obtained by NES and NJS, NJS appeared to rely on English schema in re-ordering the scrambled texts which had been translated from Japanese into English. This was especially apparent for those texts ("Tensei Jingo") which exhibited the ki-shoo-ten-ketsu pattern; NJS were not able to identify the appropriate Japanese rhetorical pattern in the English translations of these texts. Instead, they tried to use their knowledge of English rhetorical patterns, which resulted in relatively low rho scores on the paragraph re-ordering task since these patterns were inappropriate for these particular Japanese texts.

5. Support is given to approaches to the teaching of reading which stress vocabulary development and the understanding of propositional content for improving reading comprehension skills. Although connections between paragraphs or groups of paragraphs were often missing in these texts, consultants were still able to gather the overall meaning of the text by relying on their abilities to connect lexical and propositional meaning irrespective of the order in which they placed the various paragraphs. Good readers often jump around a text, reading interior paragraphs first, then skipping to the end or the beginning, finally putting all the pieces together. This study provides more support that such a process is used by advanced readers in both English and Japanese.

CONCLUSION

While the data set used in this study is relatively small, several important findings were made.

First, clear differences in Japanese and English rhetorical patterns and coherence constructs were found. That such differences were not artifacts of the textual variables measured was shown in the results of the paragraph re-ordering experiment in which NJS consultants familiar with the _ki-shoo-ten-ketsu_ pattern found in Japanese were able to reconstruct scrambled Japanese texts with much greater success than NES who reconstructed English translations of the same texts.

Second, NJS were apparently not able to identify or access the _ki-shoo-ten-ketsu_ pattern in English translations of Japanese texts which exhibited this pattern in the original Japanese. Their scores on the re-ordering task were the same as the scores obtained by NES, both of which were significantly lower than the scores obtained by the NJS who re-ordered the paragraphs of the original Japanese texts. It was argued that these NJS used strategies similar to those used by NES in reconstructing the translated texts, strategies appropriate for English texts, but not for Japanese texts which exhibit the _ki-shoo-ten-ketsu_ pattern.

Finally, results of the analysis of textual features revealed greater variation in the rhetorical patterns and coherence constructs in English editorials compared to the Japanese editorials. Future research should examine whether such variation across English editorials is typical. Another issue is the degree to which the _ki-shoo-ten-ketsu_ pattern is used in different genres of Japanese expository prose. Certainly, the Japanese readers in the current study were very familiar with this pattern and were able to identify it to a significantly greater degree than NES were able to identify particular rhetorical patterns in the English editorials used in the study. Whether this reflects a greater degree of common schooling experiences and training among the Japanese, less diversity in Japanese writing styles compared to English writing styles, or a combination of both should be investigated in future studies.

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NOTES

[1] See Biber (1984) who used factor and cluster analysis to characterize textual relations in a large corpora of written and spoken English texts. Grabe (1987) used the same methodology as Biber to characterize written expository texts.

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A COMPARISON OF NARRATIVE STRUCTURES OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING AND SPANISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

Delma McLeod Porter

This study examines the use of narrative structures in the written stories of native-English speaking and native-Spanish speaking college students. Though both groups of writers use the narrative structures defined by Labov and Waletzky (1967), the pragmatic uses of these structures differ.

The native-English speaking students attempt to involve the reader and to earn the reader's respect by careful selection of details that aggrandize self and story. This group also stresses the importance of having learned something from the experiences they are narrating. The native-Spanish speakers make no attempt to build overt credibility for themselves through selection of details. Additionally, there is no evidence that the Spanish-speaking students make any attempt to generalize a moral from their stories.

Though initial reading might suggest that the narratives of these two groups are identical with regard to structure, it is clear that subtle differences exist in the ways that these two groups use those structures. These differences suggest that the narrators do not perceive themselves and their readers in the same way.

INTRODUCTION

Oral narrative has provided linguists with much opportunity for study; however, written narrative has received little attention. It seems that written narratives warrant equal time and attention, for even though no one disputes the primacy of oral language in any culture, written language has become an integral part of our lives. Aside from the importance of written forms in an educational context, written language touches the lives of many, if not most, people on a daily basis. Thus, just as the spoken word merits examining, so does the written.

Narrative, a ubiquitous written mode, can be defined in a number of ways: it may denote the rhetorical mode, narration, which relates a series of events in chronological order; it can be further delineated by the dictate that Polyani makes that it "occur in the narrator's own world" (1985). In this paper, narrative meets both of these criteria, as well as the added one that a narrative must have a point. Thus, for purposes of this paper, the narrative is defined as a story that illustrates not only a sequence of events that occur in the narrator's own world, but also includes a number of other structures necessary to understand the story, and makes a point.

By no means limited to any single group of people, narratives are found in many, if not most, cultures. The narrative can be used to express daily events in the lives of the tellers, historical and religious events, cultural legends and myths, or fictional stories. That the narrative is cross-cultural and multi-purposed is generally accepted. What does bear examination, however, is whether or not writers and speakers of languages other than English develop and use narratives in the same ways that native-English speakers do.

SIGNIFICANCE AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

This paper shows that native-English and native-Spanish speaking students both use the same narrative structures in their written narratives. (Table 1 illustrates the number of narrative structures used by native-Spanish speaking students compared to those used by native-English speaking students.) However, the ways in which they use these structures differ. That the two groups use the same structures suggests that narrative might provide a schema for teachers of English as a second language. The differences that are found in the non-native use of the standard features may provide valuable insight into cultural differences, insight which may enable the ESL teacher to meet the special needs of her students.

METHODOLOGY

Written narratives were collected from the English composition classes at Texas A&M University. One group of narratives was collected from the class designated for international students, the other from a regular composition class. The Spanish-speaking students' narratives were selected from a corpus of sixty-three narratives. Of the sixty-three narratives, sixteen were written by native-Spanish speakers. (This class is made up of students who have reached a level of high-intermediate to advanced proficiency in English.) From a corpus of fifty-six narratives written by native-English speaking students, nineteen were selected. Chosen first were narratives written by students who were not native Texans or Texas residents. This criterion provided eight narratives; the remaining eleven were randomly selected from the corpus.

Each group of students was given a written prompt in class asking them to write about an experience they had had that was frightening. The responses were written in class during a forty-five minute session. The completed narratives were examined to determine the following:

1. the extent to which both groups of students used the same structures;
2. what differences, if any, existed in the ways the structures were used;
3. whether or not any variations within structures existed; and
4. whether idiosyncratic use of structures existed.

These criteria for examination are discussed in the remainder of the paper.

TABLE 1

Narrative Structures used by Native-Spanish Speaking Students Compared to those used by Native-English Speaking Students

Narrative Structures	English	Spanish
Abstract		
General only	10	7
Specific only	0	4
General and Specific	5	0
No Abstract	4	5
Orientation	19	16
Evaluation		
External (First-person)	3	4
Embedded		
One-word or phrasal	19	16
Third-person	3	2
Question	3	1
Resolution		
Intermediate and final	3	3
Intermediate, no final	1	0
Final only	14	12
No Resolution	1	1
Coda	15	12

NARRATIVE STRUCTURES

The structures identified by Labov and Waletzky (1967) have become the standard categories in subsequent studies of narrative structure. These structures include: abstract, orientation, evaluation, resolution, and coda.

Abstract

Labov pays slight attention to the abstract in his narrative analyses (1967, 1972), but in the narratives collected for this study, the abstract is as integral a part of narrative structure as is orientation. In the abstract, the narrator sums up the point of the story. In many cases, the abstract is highly evaluative, serving to inform the reader immediately of the importance of the story about to be told. On the other hand, it may serve as the thesis of the story and not be evaluative in the least.

In the narratives written by both groups of students at Texas A&M, two kinds of abstracts are found: general and specific. In the narratives written by the native-English speaking students, both types may be found within a single narrative. A writer may begin with a general, almost cosmic, abstract and narrow to a more specific one, following the funnel-shaped paradigm for writing introductions that students learn in basic writing courses. One student (E9) writes: "Every child loves the ocean," a very general, evaluative abstract. It introduces a general subject, but the reader does not know what the event to be narrated is. In the more specific abstract that follows, however, the story is clearly defined: "The beach is a magical place for children of all ages. . . . However if not treated with respect the ocean can be a dangerous villan (sic)." This more suspenseful, specific abstract entices the reader to continue and clearly establishes that danger is the point of the story.

Some abstracts written by the native-English speakers serve to aggrandize the writer. One young man (E1) writes: "I'm not up very much on frightening experiences. I guess because well (sic) not much frightens me." But he follows with a specific abstract that tells the reader a story about something that did frighten him: "I can remember one catamaran race when I thought I was going to drown." His general abstract portrays the teller as a brave man who is not likely to be frightened easily. Since he is such a brave man, any event that frightened him must be worth telling. This general-to-specific paradigm occurs in about twenty-six percent of the narratives written by the native-English speakers.

In the narratives written by the native-Spanish speakers, abstracts were either general or specific. There are no examples of both types occurring in any one of their narratives. Many of the abstracts are generic responses to the prompt: "The most frightening experience I ever had was __________," followed by an evaluative or orienting phrase: "mysterious and supernatural," or "when I was five," or "five years ago." The specific abstracts, which occur about twenty-five percent of the time, are both evaluative and orienting: "Imagine, then, our terror, when quite unexpectedly while traveling across Chile, we found ourselves in the middle of an earthquake." As was mentioned, the general-to-specific paradigm so common in the native-English speakers' stories is noticeably absent in the native-Spanish speakers' stories.

Orientation

The orientation section of the narrative is vital to the story. Chafe points out that people have a need to be informed about their environment -- place, time, participants and their characteristics, weather, relevant props, and the like. Readers not given this information experience dissonance; they may feel uncomfortable or disoriented (1980). Since writers cannot supply this information as needed in the same ways that a speaker might respond to a listener's questions or paralinguistic cues, they must provide it early in the narrative, and subsequent reorientation (supplying new information or remarking on changes in the weather, time, place, characters, and other details) is always present to some degree.

Though Labov argues that "not all narratives have orientation sections," (1967, p. 32), the written student narratives, without exception, have orientation sections. Labov's premise based on examination of oral narratives seems possible; however, written narratives must have orientations since the writers know that they cannot get feedback from the listener asking for more information.

Both the native-English and native-Spanish speakers developed detailed orientation sections in their narratives. However, it is clear that the purposes of the two groups are different. The native-English speakers use orientation details to aggrandize the teller; they evaluate the importance of the event or of the details within or leading up to the event; they build or reduce tension; and they provide ample information for the reader to process the narrative.

One man, whose narrative is the longest of those of the native-English speakers, omits the abstract, but amply provides enough detail to contextualize the story for any reader. A detailed orientation filled with the particulars of the weather, his dress, his fishing gear, and the drive to the lake precede any narrative clauses. In the same vein, he describes the terrain surrounding the lake and finally discloses that his narrative is not about fishing at all, but about his finding two large menacing snakes, oddities on a cold October morning. His description of the snakes, not his narration of his actions, magnifies the danger he faces: the snake was "huge . . . checkerboard pattern . . . only inches from my feet." Later he reveals that it was "four feet in length." His father has to "club" the snake with a "pine tree limb approximately 2" in diameter." A second snake is discovered, "a black water moccasin as large as the copperhead . . . coiled and ready to strike." The explicitness of the details builds suspense and dramatizes the danger being faced by the teller. We are to discover later that the narrator is applauded by his father and others for having kept a cool head under such dangerous circumstances. Had the detailed orientation section not described to the reader the extreme danger of these large snakes, the effect would have been minimized. By describing them in such detail and later informing the reader of his courageous conduct, the teller aggrandizes self, as both survivor and as narrator of such an exciting story.

In an older man's description of his late-night return home after working overtime, the setting becomes the frightening part of the narrative. The number and length of narrative clauses (four simple clauses) that relate the event minimize its frightening effect: "I rounded the corner; Tim jumped out and grabbed me in a bear hug. . . . We landed in a pile at the bottom of the stairs" (E6). The orientation details which precede the event build up suspense, and until the resolution reveals that the assailant is a friend, danger seems imminent: "I was living in a small garage apartment surrounded by huge pecan trees and rather dimly lit. It was late and I was tired." Had the event occurred in the daylight or in a well-lighted place or even earlier in the evening, it would not qualify as one's most frightening experience. But the orientation details make the story worth telling because it is the setting that is frightening, not the events that ensued.

A common use of orientation details among the native-English speakers is that of self-aggrandizement. The details presented are often used to make the teller appear brave, intelligent, or level-headed under fire. One young man writes of his prowess as a sailor (E1): "My father and I had built up a pretty good reputation as two of the best sailors in the fleet. We had won many races." And in his attempt to magnify an experience that one might find common to sailors, he continues: "normally when the cat [catamaran] flips we just slide off into the water, get on and flip it back over." By setting the stage for his admission of having almost drowned in the manner described, the narrator convinces his reader that he is an excellent sailor and enhances his prowess and bravery by his some-what cavalier description of the near-tragedy.

The orientation details provided by the Spanish-speaking students function differently from those of the native-English speakers. In addition to the ample details supplied to provide adequate processing of their stories, the native-Spanish speakers provide enough additional detail so that a reader unfamiliar with their cultures can understand the context for their narratives. Definitions and explanations are offered to explain cultural differences that might be misunderstood, a technique that native-speakers find unnecessary since their readers ostensibly share a knowledge of their culture.

In their attempts to clarify for the reader, the Spanish-speakers offer literal translations of Spanish words and names:

in writing about a fearful camping trip, a young man translates for his reader (S3): "After we settle (sic) our camp in Valle de Angeles (Angel's Valley)," offering a literal translation. Later he adds, "We were ready to start our first journey without our akela, or leader of the troop." Another student describes a local celebration (S14): "As every year, we were celebrating our 'cornovoles' at home. Cornovoles is a day in which everybody plays with (sic) water in the whole country."

Political and social differences are explained. One young man tries to explain when and what the civil war in his home was (S16): "This civil war took place in Managua, Nicaragua, on (sic) the month of July, 1979, when the sandinistas tore down the (sic) Somoza's government." Another student attempts to explain the social conditions in his country (S13): "Guatemala is a country with a lot of poverty and, because of this, there is also a lot of bandalism (sic), corruption and socialism among the poor people." The writer is abducted, robbed, and is made to fear for his life, but his orientation tries to explain to the reader what circumstances may have driven his captors to such lengths.

One notable difference in the orientations of the native-English speakers' narratives and those of the native-Spanish speakers is the lack of detail that might constitute self-aggrandizement. The details may point to the importance of the story and serve evaluatively in that respect. S5 writes: "This (sic) roads are very difficult to drive because of their windiness (sic)." The student continues to describe his sliding off the road into a ditch and later managing to get back onto the road and complete his trip. In his description, he makes no effort to compliment himself on his driving skills or level head. S9 writes: "The political situation in Nicaragua was getting worse everyday and it seemed war was inevitable. . . . We had to stay in the house for eight long days without water, electricity and communication at all. Moreover, we did not have enough food to eat. We had to limit ourselves to one meal during the day." In recounting her experience during this crisis, the narrator simply tells the story. She does not inform us of her bravery or of her family's stoicism during a week of deprivation.

In the narratives of both S5 and S9, the personal safety of the narrator is at risk. In both cases, the situations did not end in tragedy, but no mention is made by either writer of special skills or of uncommon courage, even though both stories would lend themselves to expressions of personal heroics. In the native-Spanish speakers' narratives, the focus remains on the story, not on the narrator.

Evaluation

Polyani argues that evaluation is the feature in narrative that distinguishes the key events from other less important events and signals the teller's intentions about how she would like the story interpreted (1985). This feature makes the point of the narrative. The evaluation parts of the narrative are neither achieved by a single type of structure nor are they limited to any one place in the story. Labov rightly argues that the evaluation is "perhaps the most important element in the narrative, next to the narrative clause" (1972, p. 366). Evaluation, according to Labov, is done in two ways: externally and/or embedded. Evaluation devices may be single words or several sentences, and other narrative structures may serve dual purposes as evaluative devices.

External evaluations usually take the form of first-person evaluations. Labov points out that the narrator may stop the narrative and address the listener/reader directly to tell him what the point is, or she may attribute an evaluative remark to herself at some point in the narrative (1972, p. 372).

Embedded evaluations may function both semantically and syntactically. The narrator may quote something that occurred to her during some moment in the narrative or may quote herself as speaking to someone else (Labov, 1972). Another form of embedded evaluation is introducing a third person who comments in some way on the story or the narrator. Sprinkled liberally throughout any narrative are embedded evaluations that function syntactically. Intensifiers, comparators, correlatives, and explicatives all function as evaluators (Labov, 1972).

In both sets of student narratives, both external and embedded evaluation devices are used. In the English-speaking students' narratives, external first-person and embedded third-person evaluations are used to add credence to the story, to build up the image of the narrator, and to build suspense by intensifying or extending the narrative action.

In the following examples, the embedded first-person evaluation tells the reader what was going on in the narrator's mind at the time of the incident. One young man writes (E4): "I immediately thought that this stranger was armed. . . . Next I imagined that this guy wanted us to drive him somewhere." The story turns out to be about a minor who is looking for an adult to buy him some beer, but the first-person evaluation of what the narrator is thinking builds suspense and is the feature that makes this narrative a frightening event. Without the details of what went on in the mind of the narrator, this story would not be frightening at all. In the story written by a young woman, first person external evaluation serves to build suspense, and acts additionally as the abstract for the main narrative. E15 writes: "I did not become frightened until several weeks after [she has just described having been flashed by a male customer in the card shop where she worked] when I cam upon a naked man in the store." The main narrative follows, detailing her discovery and subsequent rush to bolt herself in the stock room until the police arrive. She evaluates the first narrative and introduces the second, as she steps out of the narrative sequence to address the reader directly.

In the evaluation sections of the native-English speakers, occasional first-person evaluation serves to convey to the reader complimentary information about the writer. As with the orientations that serve as self-aggrandizing features, so do these evaluations. One young woman writes about her courage under the stress of learning she has cancer: "I was not really excited about being told I had cancer but I decided to think of it as an adventure rather than worry about it" (E12). Her self-evaluation here bespeaks of her undauntable spirit in the face of what most adults would find difficult to deal with. Her matter-of-fact statement about her potentially-fatal illness tells the reader how she wants to be perceived -- a woman who is not devastated by a life-threatening situation.

Third-person evaluations are those that draw from what authorities or authority figures would say or do. Labov states that the narrator might have just as well attributed the evaluative comment to herself, but coming from a neutral observer, it carries more dramatic force (1972, p. 373). In the narrative discussed earlier which dramatizes the fishing expedition, the narrator relies on an anonymous authority, but one with whom no one would disagree: "They say you should slowly move away from snakes so as not to provoke them." He later introduces his father's evaluations of the evasive actions: "My dad . . . said I'd been using my head." Both of these third-person evaluations illustrate the narrator's good sense and act as a means of self-aggrandizement.

Another type of third-person evaluation found frequently in the native-English speakers' stories is the parental warning. These warnings are similar to adages and admonitions that one hears from parents who heard them from their parents. Invariably these warnings contribute to an overall moral that is iterated at the end of the narrative. One young man writes: "Parents caution their children not to venture outside when it is very late. Strange people are out there -- you know." He continues his story about his being pursued by some strangers in a pickup truck, proving his parents had been right in their warning.

Embedded one-word or phrasal evaluation is common in the native-English speakers' narratives; these evaluations serve generally to build dramatic intensity and suspend action: "I walked quietly;" "I saw a dark shadowy figure;" "I quickly ran;" "I immediately said no;" "Finally my parents came home." These intensifiers slow the narrative and focus the readers' attention on a particular action within the story.

The evaluation features used by the native-Spanish speakers are similar; however, one significant difference exists: in both the first and third person evaluations, as with the orientations, no attempt is made at self-aggrandizement. In fact, these narrators admit fears and inadequacies, even though the circumstances would allow assertions of bravery. One young man writes (S3): "I don't know if they [wolves] were more frightened than we were, and anyway we didn't want to discovered (sic) it." Later he admits the intensity of his fears: "I remember [I] heard my heart and everyone (sic) steps going real fast." Another narrator, a woman, similarly admits her fears are silly: "This [screaming and jumping to lock the door] is sort of dumb because I guess that if something supernatural was the cause [of a scratching noise] it would easily get into my room." The willingness to admit fear, sadness, and ignorance is common in these narratives.

Questions as evaluations. Longacre claims that the rhetorical question may be used effectively at the climax of the story and serves as a "rhetorical underlining as a way to emphasize an important point of the story" (1974, p. 376). Labov states that questions are a form of comparator, and "all requests, even the most mitigated, are to be heard against an unrealized possibility of negative consequences if they are not answered" (1972, p. 384-385). In the data collected from native-English speakers, questions serve two primary functions. Often a question opens the narrative and functions as a general abstract, introducing the topic of the story. E8, a young man, asks: "Have you ever been in a hospital?" This question, the prelude to his story of having been lost in a large hospital as a child, tells the reader what the story is going to be about in a general sense. It serves the additional purpose of engaging the reader and involving her in a shared experience. No response is expected nor required. Later, near the end of his narrative, the same writer asks, "Happy endings are so nice, aren't they?" Here the tag question forces the reader to agree with him. The expected response gives tacit approval to both the experience and to the telling of the story.

Only one Spanish-speaking narrator uses questions. Her questions do not attempt to share her experience with or to establish affinity with the reader. Her four short questions in rapid succession create a sense of urgency in the narrative. She asks (S2): "Was I already there?" "Why had we stopped?" "What were they saying?" "Why didn't we continue our trip?" These questions are not directed to the reader, but to the narrator herself, and serve much the same function as the embedded first person evaluation which tells us of the anxiety in the mind of the narrator. Unlike the questions directed to the reader, these do not seek approval or affinity.

Resolution

Resolution is the termination of the narrative sequence of events (Labov 1972). Though no mention of different types of resolutions is made in the literature, two distinct types are found in the student narratives: intermediate and final.

The intermediate resolutions end one stage of the narrative, a stage that is not the main story, but an embedded narrative that serves as a kind of orientation for the main event. At the end of each of the intermediate resolutions, action resumes and a more serious incident, the incident that is the main event, is resolved in the final resolution.

In the student narratives, both intermediate and final resolutions occur in both groups of writers. The major difference between the two groups' use of resolution is that the final resolutions in the native-English speakers' narratives are usually dramatic: an introductory clause builds suspense and evaluates the seriousness of the event; a main clause follows, actually effecting the solution. Resolutions may require two or three sentences before all of the conflict is resolved.

The native-English speakers' resolutions are often hyperbolic in describing their experiences. One young man writes (E1): "Somehow after what seemed like an eternity I got out and began to float up." Similarly another writes (E8): "After what seemed like an eternity of falling, the elevator stopped and some nurses got in and they helped me find my dad." A young woman writes (E16): "Not being able to breathe, I began to go unconscious just as help arrived to lift the car off of me." In each of these examples, the writer emphasizes what seemed like long periods of time before a final resolution is effected.

The narratives by the native-Spanish speakers, however, tend to end less dramatically. Seldom are the resolutions prefaced by suspenseful or climax-building introductory clauses. The stories end quickly, almost abruptly, without apparent attempt to build suspense or to evaluate. One woman writes of discovering a man standing at her bedside as she slept. She finally opens her eyes after lying in bed agonizing and resolves the narrative thusly: "There he was, it was Claudio, Rosy's husband. I felt a relief (sic)" (S18). Another student writes (S12): "I kept walking until I reached the shore and asked for help. One of my friends almost drowned, we had to give him medical help since he was unconscious." Thus, in contrast to the narratives by the native-English speakers, the native-Spanish speakers resolve their narratives in a matter-of-fact, summative manner.

Coda

The coda bridges the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative and the present and brings the narrator back to the point where the narrative began. Longacre notes that the coda may be of two types: hortatory, which offers a moral, or a formulaic ending, which indicates "finis" (1974).

Both sets of narratives illustrate similar use of the coda.

But the native-English speakers are inclined to offer a moral, a warning, or a comment on some lesson they have learned, a "hortatory statement." The native-Spanish speakers do not. The codas in the narratives by the native-Spanish speakers are evaluative or summative, not didactic.

The parental warning reappears in the codas of the native-English speakers. One writer repeats the warning that he opened his narrative with. He writes (E5): "Strange people are out there, and if they can find you, they will." The sentence is almost identical to the one which he attributes to his parents; however, now after his experience with strange people, the words and the sentiments are his. Another native-English speaker comments on a lesson he has learned. He writes (E10): "From then on I was sure to keep a tight grip on my father's hand." A young woman comments on her own courage and observes a proverbial lesson she has learned: "I made it through that experience though and I really believe that if I had let myself be scared . . . I would not have made it" (E12). These codas exemplify the native-English speakers' tendency to analyze their experiences, and in recounting them or the potential danger in them, to offer a didactic closure.

The narratives written by the native-Spanish speakers, however, are not didactic, but summative or evaluative. One woman writes, after facing her worst fear - spiders (S19): "Fortunatelly (sic), I've been trying to control myself, and it seem (sic) I'm improving little by little. Hopefully, there will be one day in wich (sic) I won't even care about any spider." No lesson has been learned about avoiding places where spiders are found or about the moral that is contained about the necessity of facing one's fears. She simply evaluates her attempts to get over her fear of spiders. Another student writes a summary/evaluation as the coda to his story. S17 summarizes: "I really got scared when I saw the guy drowning and that impression followed me every where for about a week and I couldn't sleep the next two days." Again no mention is made of any lesson learned, any remorse at having delayed in trying to save a drowning man, or of any moral to his story. A young man evaluates his experience succinctly: "It was not my best cornovoles" (S14). This absence of didactic closure is a marked difference in the narrative features used by this group of writers.

SUMMARY

Though it is clear that the structures that make up narratives do occur in both the stories written by native and non-native speakers of English, the subtle differences that exist in the ways that the different writers use these structures merit study.

A summary of these differences is as follows:

1. Native-English speakers use both general and specific abstracts; native-Spanish speakers use one or the other, never both.

2. Native-English speakers use orientation details to aggrandize self and to evaluate the seriousness of the story. Native-Spanish speakers make no attempt to self-aggrandize. They provide ample detail and explanation so that readers who are unfamiliar with their cultures can understand the context of the stories.

3. Native-English speakers use evaluation structures as a means of gaining importance in and from their own stories. Native-Spanish speakers do not attempt to shift attention from the story to self through evaluative devices.

4. Native-English speakers use questions to involve and engage the reader, forcing the reader to align herself with the narrator. Native Spanish-speakers rarely use questions. The singular example uses questions as a first-person embedded evaluator, which reveals to the reader the narrator's state of mind.

5. Native-English speakers construct dramatic resolutions, which build toward a climax. Native-Spanish speakers construct resolutions that are more summative or evaluative. Rarely is there an attempt to build to a dramatic resolution.

6. Native-English speakers use the coda as a vehicle for a moral or other didactic message. Native-Spanish speakers make no attempt at constructing didactic codas. Their codas, like their resolutions, are summative and/or evaluative.

CONCLUSION

It seems apparent in the narratives of these two groups of students that narrators of both cultures are aware of the needs and expectations of the readers. Both offer ample contextualization cues in a narrative structures. It also seems likely that both groups are aware of the needs of the teller in their stories as well. Where the native-English speakers work to build credibility through self-aggrandizement, the native-Spanish speakers do not. Another notable difference is that the native-English speakers strive to engage the reader and assure themselves that the reader agrees with the narrators' points of view. The use of questions seems to suggest this. Though the native-Spanish speakers demonstrate a keen awareness of the needs of the reader, there is no attempt to guarantee that the reader will agree with or support the individual narrator's point of view. The dramatic endings and the built-in morals found in the native-English speakers' narratives suggest that that narrators have been trained to offer a "so what" ending to their stories, and a dramatic conclusion must build toward that moral. The native-Spanish speakers neither offer morals nor build the climactic endings into their stories. The stories exist for their own sake, and the readers must get out of them what they will.

IMPLICATIONS

As mentioned earlier in this paper, analysis of student narratives can serve important purposes for the ESL teacher. That both groups of students use the same narrative structures suggests that writing instruction which is centered around or initiated by narrative assignments can benefit from such a schema. More important for the ESL teacher are the differences that exist between the native-English and the native-Spanish speakers. Analyses of the differences can provide information about cultural differences that is integral in meeting the needs of non-native speakers. Finally, recognition of students' achievements can often be greater encouragement than high marks, and the narratives produced by non-native speakers demonstrate that these students are capable of writing in English in a coherent, meaningful way.

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IDENTIFYING REFERENTS IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: A COMPARISON OF THE ACQUISITION OF PRONOMINAL AND ZERO ANAPHORA BY NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Erica McClure

This study compares the patterns of subject position pronominalization and zero anaphora in English in stories written by monolingual American students and bilingual Mexican students at the sixth and twelfth grades. The possibility of both sentential and discourse level transfer effects resulting from the fact that Spanish allows subject deletion is investigated as is the possibility of a developmental lag. The results indicate that while there are similarities in usage across all groups there are also important differences.

For all groups the majority of pronouns have referents located in adjacent clauses and referents which are pronominal. However sixth graders' stories contain more pronominalizations than those of twelfth graders. But while non-natives' stories contain more pronominalizations than those of native speakers, they display less use of zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions. Consequently stories written by non-native speakers contain longer sequences in which the subject NP slot is filled by a pronoun and they exhibit greater referential ambiguity. Either syntactic immaturity and/or discourse level transfer effects from Spanish are possible explanations of these results. However while the data indicate that transfer at the discourse level may play an important role in native Spanish speaking students' use of pronominalization and zero anaphora in English, there is only very limited evidence of sentential transfer effects.

One of the basic requisites of a well-formed narrative is that the referents of the expressions used be easily identifiable. Nominals may be interpreted semantically in their own right while pronominal anaphora make reference to something else for their interpretation. However while the interpretation of pronominals may not be as direct as that of nominals, an English narrative employing only nominal forms would seem oddly repetitive. Indeed as Halliday and Hasan (1976) point out, not only is the use of personal pronouns as reference items with a cohesive function pervasive in English, but also "in many texts the third person forms constitute the most frequent single class of cohesive items (p.49)." Clearly, then pronominal anaphora have an important role in maintenance of reference in English discourse. As noted by Givon (1986b) and Williams (MS a & b) among others, this role is shared in English by null subjects, a type of zero anaphora, permissible in English given parallel coordinate verbal constructions. As is true of the felicitous employment of pronominal anaphora, the judicious use of zero anaphora helps prevent monotony by providing structural variation in a text while preserving intelligibility.

Given the major contribution to textual cohesion of pronominal and zero anaphora in English, it seems important to study both native and non-native acquisition of these devices. Studies of narratives produced by children who are native speakers of English indicate that they follow a strategy of pronominalization that differs greatly from that of adults. In a task requiring narration of a story depicted in a series of pictures visible both to the experimenter and the subject, Karmiloff-Smith (1980) found that children under six use pronouns deictically. Older children increasingly use pronouns anaphorically, first employing a strategy in which the initial slot of utterances is reserved for reference to the main character. Consequently pronominalization in that slot refers exclusively to the thematic subject of the narrative. Later children sometimes place secondary characters in the initial slot. "However pronominalization for non-thematic subjects is rare, and usually only occurs within sentence boundaries with connectives. In the utterance initial slot if there is a pronoun it still refers preferentially to the thematic subject (p. 264)." No need is felt to reintroduce the thematic subject with a noun phrase even if there have been other referents in that slot.

Similar findings were also reported in a later study by Frawley and Lantoff (1985) which compared the patterns of pronominalization of children and adults who were native speakers of English with those of non-native university students. Their data from a five year old show a pattern in which initial position in an utterance is preempted for thematized pronouns even when the theme shifts. In contrast, data from an eight year old indicate adherence to an adult pattern of pronominalization in which thematic shifts are marked by the insertion of full NP's. Interestingly, although advanced non-native speakers demonstrated patterns of pronominalization very similar to those of adult native speakers, data from students enrolled in an intermediate level ESL class indicate the same immature pattern found for young native speakers.

Since the data presented by Frawley and Lantoff are anecdotal rather than quantitative in nature and the first language background of the non-native speakers was not controlled, their findings can not be considered definitive but only suggestive.

The present study will further explore the development of pronominalization by both native and non-native speakers of English. Differences between pronominalization patterns of native and non-native speakers will be examined both from the perspective of developmental lag and transfer. Transfer is a possible explanation since the second language learners of English are native speakers of Spanish. Since Spanish is a type of pro-drop language in which pronominal subjects may be omitted because the information they carry is recoverable from verbal inflectional suffixes, patterns of pronominalization in Spanish and in English differ considerably -- pronominal subjects being much less frequent in Spanish than in English texts. Furthermore since Spanish, like English, allows zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions, with resultant compound verb phrases, but does not require an expressed subject, it is difficult to distinguish between coordinate clauses and coordinate verb phrases in Spanish. In written Spanish text the distinction would be marked only by appropriate punctuation as indicated in the following examples.

(1) El muchacho estudió pero no aprobó el examen.
(The boy studied but did not pass the exam.)
(2) El muchacho estudió. Pero Ø no aprobó el examen.
(The boy studied. But Ø did not pass the exam.)

This fact might affect Spanish speakers' use of coordinate structures in English. The existence of negative transfer of null subjects from Spanish to intrasentential contexts in which in English they are not permissable has been noted frequently (e.g. Butterworth and Hatch 1978; Schumann 1978, 1984; White 1985) and Gundel and Tarone (1983) and Gundel, Stenson, and Tarone (1984) have investigated the possible interaction of markedness criteria and transfer. However to my knowledge, the possibility of discourse level transfer effects on patterns of pronominalization and coordination at the discourse level has not been investigated. The present study will investigate the possibility of both sentential and discourse level transfer effects by comparing the distribution of pronominalization and zero anaphora in native and non-native texts.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Four groups of students categorized by grade, sixth vs twelfth, and status as native speakers of English or Spanish provided the data for this study. The native English speaking students were Americans; the second language learners Mexicans. Both American and Mexican students were attending very well equipped private schools in large cities whose programs encompassed preschool through high school and whose student bodies were drawn from the upper middle and upper classes. The schools differed in that the Mexican one featured a bilingual program in which English was the medium of instruction for the entire day in pre-school, for half the day in elementary school and for selected courses in junior high and high school. Courses for which English was the medium of instruction were taught by native speakers of American English using materials published in the U.S.

Data Collection

The data to be discussed here consist of narratives written in English which were elicited with two[1] silent animated films of the animal fable genre, one about a mole, the other about an owl[2]. The films were silent in order to avoid influencing the subjects' language. At each grade level in each school one class was shown the mole film and another class was shown the owl film. Each film lasted slightly over four minutes. To facilitate observation and retention of the event sequence and descriptive details, the films were shown twice. The students were then asked to write the stories they had seen as if they were writing them for children. The task was administered in a sixty minute class period.

Data Analysis

Ten stories from each class were chosen randomly for analysis, making a total data base of eighty stories categorized by: (1) story content (owl vs mole), (2) author's grade (sixth vs twelfth), and (3) author's native language (English versus Spanish).

Two types of analyses were carried out on the corpus of stories: a quantitative analysis of the frequency of occurrence of pronominal and zero anaphora and a qualitative analysis of the referential felicity of full NP's, pronominal anaphora, and zero anaphora. As in the work by Karmiloff-Smith (1980) and Frawley and Lantoff (1985), only the forms occurring in subject position were considered. The analysis was further constrained to only those forms that had third person referents since as Halliday and Hasan (1976) point out, it is only third person forms which are inherently cohesive referring anaphorically to the text.

Three measures were employed in the quantitative part of the study: (1) the frequency of occurrence of zero anaphora in coordinate verbal constructions (with resultant compound verbs), (2) the frequency of occurrence of all third person pronominal anaphora, and (3) the frequency of occurrence of third person singular pronouns[3] outside of quotations. Since the stories varied greatly in length, the frequencies had to be expressed as percentages. It was felt that dividing the actual number of occurrences by the total number of clauses[4] in the story in the case of the first two measures and by the total number of clauses outside of quotations in the last measure would provide the best measures.[5]

The first two measures constituted the dependent variables of three-way analyses of variance whose independent variables were the between subjects factors of grade, native language, and story. The third measure entered as the dependent variable in a five-way anova whose independent variables were the between – subjects factors of grade, native language and story and additionally the within-subjects factors of referent type (whether a pronoun had a nominal or pronominal referent) and referent location (whether a pronoun's referent was in an adjacent or nonadjacent clause). The factor referent type was included because the work by Karmiloff-Smith and Frawley and Yawley suggests that there are developmental and native-non-native differences in the perceived need for nominal referents for pronominal forms. The variable referent location was included since work by Givon (1983 a & b), Brown (1983) and others on topic continuity in native speakers' texts has found referential distance to be an important variable and work by Williams (1988 & nd) indicates it is also a variable which distinguishes native and non-native discourse.

To further illuminate how referent type and location might affect patterns of pronominalization, four separate three-way anovas with independent variables of grade, language, and story were performed for the frequency of occurrence of third person singular pronouns in the four cells defined by having referents which were nominal versus pronominal and which were in adjacent or nonadjacent clauses.

RESULTS

Results of the three-way anovas having as dependent measures frequency of zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions and frequency of third person pronominal anaphora (summarized in table I) indicate that for the former there are significant main effects for native language $F(1,72)=4.40$ $p<.05$ and story $F(1,72)=10.38$ $p<.01$ while for the latter measure there are significant main effects for language $F(1,72)=10.57$ $p<.01$ and grade $F(1,72)=5.33$ $p<.05$. No significant interactions appeared. The main effects for zero anaphora per clause indicate that they occur more frequently in the texts produced by native English speakers ($\bar{x}=.154$) than in those produced by non-native speakers ($\bar{x}=.116$) and more frequently in the mole stories ($\bar{x}=.165$) than in the owl stories ($\bar{x}=.106$). The main effects for third person pronominal anaphora per clause indicate that they are produced more frequently by non-native speakers ($\bar{x}=.453$) and by 6th graders ($\bar{x}=.442$) than by native speakers ($\bar{x}=.377$) and by 12th graders ($\bar{x}=.388$).

Results of the five-way anova, which are summarized in table II, indicate that for the dependent variable frequency of third person singular forms per non-quoted clause, there are significant main effects for all independent variables. The main effect for language $F(1,72)=10.91$ $p<.01$ indicates that non-native speakers ($\bar{x}=.387$) pronominalized more frequently than native speakers ($\bar{x}=.311$) while the main effect for grade $F(1,72)=4.08$ $p<.05$ indicates that 6th graders

Table I
Three-way ANOVA Results for the Frequency of Zero Anaphora and Third Person Pronominal Anaphora by Grade, Language, and Story

	Native Language				Grade				Story			
			Means				Means				Means	
	SS	F	Eng	Sp	SS	F	6th	12th	SS	F	Owl	Mole
Zero Anaphora Total Clauses	.029	4.40*	.154	.116		---			.069	10.38**	.106	.165
Third Person Pronominal Anaphora Total Clauses	.114	10.57**	.377	.453	.058	5.33*	.442	.388		---		

* = p<.05
** = p<.01

There were no significant interactions for either dependent variable.

Quoted clauses and their pronominal subjects were excluded from these analyses.

Table II
Five-way ANOVA Results for the Frequency of Third Person Singular Pronominal Subjects by Native Language, Grade, Story, Referent Type, and Referent Location

	SS	F		Means			
Native Language	.029	10.91**		Eng=.311		Sp=.387	
Grade	.011	4.08*		6th=.373		12th=.326	
Story	.105	39.80****		owl=.277		mole=.422	
Referent Type	.069	23.77****		pron=.204		nom=.145	
Location of Ref	1.040	448.94****		adj=.289		nonadj=.061	
Ref x Loc	.024	9.24**		pron		nom	
			adj	.168		.121	
			nonadj	.037		.030	
Loc x Story	.063	27.38****		owl		mole	
			adj	.224		.353	
			nonadj	.053		.069	
Ref x Grade x Story	.013	4.39*		pron		nom	
				owl	mole	owl	mole
			6th	.195	.256	.101	.193
			12th	.131	.235	.127	.160
Ref x Loc x Language	.011	4.26*		pron		nom	
				Eng	Sp	Eng	Sp
			adj	.142	.193	.118	.124
			nonadj	.032	.041	.019	.030

* = p<.05
** = p<.01
*** = p<.001
**** = p<.0001

All clauses and referential third person singular pronominal subjects were included in these analyses. The frequency measure is the total number of third person singular pronouns occurring outside of quotations divided by the total number of clauses outside of quotations.

No other interactions were significant.

($\bar{x}=.373$) pronominalized more than 12th graders ($\bar{x}=.326$). The main effect for story $F(1,72)=39.80$ $p<.0001$ indicates that third person singular pronouns occur much more frequently in the mole ($\bar{x}=.422$) than in the owl story ($\bar{x}=.277$). The main effects for referent type $F(1,72)=23.77$ $p<.0001$ and referent location $F(1,72)=448.94$ $p<.0001$ indicate that more third person singular pronouns have pronominal referents ($\bar{x}=.204$) and referents in adjacent clauses ($\bar{x}=.289$) than have nominal referents ($\bar{x}=.145$) or referents in nonadjacent clauses ($\bar{x}=.061$). There are also two significant two-way interactions and two significant three-way interactions (see table II for the means). The two-way interaction of referent type by referent location $F(1,72)=9.24$ $p<.001$ results from the fact that there is much less disparity in the frequencies of pronominals whose referents are pronominal as opposed to nominal if those referents are nonadjacent than if the referents are adjacent. In all cases however, pronouns with pronominal referents are more frequent than pronouns with nominal referents. The two-way interaction of story by referent location results from the fact that in the mole story there is a greater disparity in the frequency of pronouns whose referents are adjacent versus nonadjacent than in the owl story. In both stories however, many more pronouns have referents in adjacent clauses than have referents in nonadjacent clauses. The three-way interaction of referent type by grade by story results from the fact that in the sixth grade there is a greater difference in the dependent measure between mole and owl stories when the pronouns have nominal referents than when they have pronominal referents while at the twelfth grade the reverse is true. The three-way interaction of referent type by referent location by native language $F(1,72)=4.26$ $p<.05$ results from the fact that for English and Spanish speakers the difference in the frequency of pronominals whose referents are pronominal versus nominal is about the same in the case of forms whose referents are in nonadjacent clauses, but in the case of pronouns whose referents are in adjacent clauses there is a greater disparity between the frequency of those with pronominal referents and those with nominal referents for Spanish speakers than for English speakers.

In order to examine the effect of referent type and referent location from a different angle, four three-way anovas with between subjects factors of language, grade, and story were run with the same dependent measure used in the five-way anova. Here however separate anovas were run for the frequency of third person singular pronouns whose referents were describable in terms of one of the four combinations of the levels of the two variables referent type and referent location. The results are summarized in table III. For the frequency of pronouns whose referents are pronominal and in adjacent clauses there is a significant main effect for language $F(1,72)=7.24$ $p<.01$ which indicates that non-native speakers ($\bar{x}=.193$) pronominalize more in this condition than native speakers ($\bar{x}=.142$). There is also a significant main effect for story $F(1,72)=14.09$ $p<.001$ indicating that pronominalizations occurred more in the mole story ($\bar{x}=.203$)

Table III
Three-Way ANOVA Results by Language, Grade, and Story for the Frequency of Pronominal Subjects Whose Referents are ± Nominal and ± Adjacent

	Adj Pron	Adj Nom	Non-Adj Pron	Non-Adj Nom
Language				
SS	.052	---	---	.002
F	7.24**	---	---	4.57*
Means	Eng=.142 Sp=.193	---	---	Eng=.019 Sp=.030
Grade				
SS	---	---	.005	---
F	---	---	4.76*	---
Means	---	---	6th=.045 12th=.028	---
Story				
SS	.101	.067	---	---
F	14.09***	39.71****	---	---
Means	owl=.132 mole=.203	owl=.092 mole=.150	---	---
Grade x Story				
SS	---	---	---	.004
F	---	---	---	7.31**
Means	---	---	---	owl mole 6th .015 .032 12th .030 .020

* = p<.05
** = p<.01
*** = p<.001
**** = p<.0001

All clauses and referential third person singular pronominal subjects were included in these analyses.

No other interactions were significant.

than in the owl story ($\bar{x}=.132$). For the frequency of pronouns whose referents are nouns in adjacent clauses there is a significant main effect $F(1,72)=39.71$ $p<.0001$ which indicates that pronominalizations were more prevalent in the mole story ($\bar{x}=.150$) than in the owl story ($\bar{x}=.092$). For the frequency of pronominalizations with pronominal referents in nonadjacent clauses there is a significant main effect for grade $F(1,72)=4.76$ $p<.05$ indicating that 6th graders ($\bar{x}=.045$) pronominalized more in this context than 12th graders ($\bar{x}=.028$). Finally for the frequency of pronominalizations whose referents are nouns in nonadjacent clauses, there is a significant main effect for language $F(1,72)=4.57$ $p<.05$ indicating that non-native speakers ($\bar{x}=.030$) pronominalized more in this context than native speakers ($\bar{x}=.019$). For this condition, unlike the others, there is also a significant interaction, grade by story $F(1,72)=7.31$ $p<.01$, which results from the fact that for 6th graders such pronominalizations are more common in the mole story ($\bar{x}=.032$) than in the owl story ($\bar{x}=.015$) while for 12th graders these pronominalizations are more common in the owl story ($\bar{x}=.030$ than the mole story ($\bar{x}=.020$).

DISCUSSION

Given the pervasiveness of the story effect a brief explanation would appear to be in order before a discussion of patterns of use of zero anaphora and pronominal anaphora across grade and native language is begun. The mole is a story with a linear sequence of events. It has one central protagonist who encounters a series of unknown characters one by one. The owl, on the other hand, is a story which while it contains a central protagonist, also involves many simultaneously appearing secondary characters who momentarily take center stage. Furthermore it is a non-linear story in which later events can only be understood in terms of prior ones. The linearity of the mole story probably accounts for the fact that it contains more parallel verbal constructions than the owl story while the fact that there is only one central figure in the mole story who interacts with at most one other character means that there is less probablilty that pronominalization will create ambiguity.

Turning now to a consideration of the patterns of pronominalization across grade and native language background, both similarities and differences become apparent upon examination of the anova results. First, the five-way anova clearly indicates that for all groups pronominalization occurs much more frequently when the referent is located in an adjacent rather than a nonadjacent clause. Second for all groups a pronoun more frequently has a pronominal rather than a nominal referent. However 6th graders definitely pronominalize more than 12th graders and non-native speakers pronominalize more than native speakers. Inspection of the means for each subgroup (6thEng=.34, 12thEng=.31, 6thSp=.42, 12thSp=.36) suggests a developmental lag on the part of the non-native speakers; moreover, the lack of a grade by language interaction suggests that even by 12th grade this lag has not begun to disappear.

A more detailed examination of the results reveals that 6th graders pronominalize more than 12th graders particularly when the referent for the pronoun is in turn a pronoun in a nonadjacent clause, a condition in which pronominalization tends to be more ambiguous. Non-native speakers pronominalize more than native speakers when the referent for the pronoun is a noun in a nonadjacent clause, another condition in which pronominalization is more apt to lead to ambiguity. Non-native speakers also pronominalize more than native speakers when the referent is a pronoun in an adjacent clause. Thus they have longer sequences in which the subject NP slot continues to be filled with a pronoun.

A qualitative examination of the stories confirms and amplifies the quantitative findings. Non-native speakers' pronominalizations are more frequently ambiguous and/or distant with respect to their referents than are those of native speakers. The same holds true of 6th graders' pronominalizations when compared to those of 12th graders.

Examples (3), (4), and (5) below exemplify the patterns to be found.

(3) (Eow6h217)
a Once upon a time was a mother owlet taking care
b of three little eggs. Suddenly one egg was
c broking, next the other, other, other. One was
d rose, blue, green. The mother called the father
e how they were asleep. So they go and the
f owlet wasn't there they were searching for. They
g passed for the table. They look at the
h owlet. He was seeing the tv. The days passed.
i It was time they know how to fly.

(4) (Eow6h226)
a The father owl was seeing the tv, very
b preoccupied about his new sons and mother owl was
c seeing the eggs. She too was very preoccupied of
d who they were going to be. So the first egg
e started to crack out. So the father owl came.
f They were very excited. So it crack all out.
g And its color was green. And the second started
h to crack out. And a baby owl was born. And its
i color was blue. So the third egg crack out. And
j a baby owl came out. Its color was green. So
k they took them to sleep.

(5) (Eow12h732)
a Flyer and tyer got there on time. But tver
b arrived late and with a portable tv. Class
c start. And instead he was watching the
d saint. All of the owls are learning math
e except him. And then class changes. They show
f that the fox is bad and dangerous. But tver does
g not learn because he is watching tv. After this

h lesson class is dismissed. When *they* get
i home, father is watching a picture about cowboys
j and indians. So the owls start playing. But
k when they go out of the tree, *he* can't fly
l and can't get back up.

In example (3), the first *they* in line e refers to the babies while the second *they* refers to the parents. Similarly the *they* in line g refers to the parents but the *they* in line i refers to the owlets who were last mentioned at the beginning of line e. Six clauses have intervened between *they* in line i and its referent, but the narrator does not feel compelled to reintroduce the referent with a full noun phrase. A similar situation exists in example (4). While part of the referent for *they* in line f is father owl which is in an adjacent clause, the other component *she* appears last in line c before three intervening clauses. Between *they* in line k and its referent in line f there are eight intervening clauses. In example (5) there is one intervening clause between *he* in line c and its referent in line a while the referents for *they* in line h occur in line f before one intervening clause and line a, before nine intervening clauses.

The pattern found in these examples seems very similar to that reported in Karmiloff-Smith and Frawley and Lantoff in which although the theme shifts, the young child still preempts utterance initial position for thematized pronouns. Non-native speakers also produced texts which seem to display patterns similar to those Karmiloff-Smith described for still younger children, namely pronominalization at the macro-level of text such that what is perceived as the thematic subject at the discourse level is maintained in pronoun form throughout the narrative. The text found in example (6) below exemplifies this pattern.

(6) Once upon a time in a public zoo a mole start to dig so *he* could come out to the world to see the sky, moon and sun. *He* start to dig and dig until *he* finally came out. *He* was looking around him. *He* was black with a white mouth and not so big. *He* looked up, and *he* become surprise because *he* saw a grey sky. *He* start to jump to see if *he* can touch it. *He* walk down the little hill he made with the ground *he* dugged. *He* start to walk quietly and very slowly toward the feets of the elephant. *He* didn't realize that it was an elephant. *He* went up in one of the foots of the elephant and look around. (Emw12h785)

Frawley and Lantoff explain the existence of adult non-native speaker texts of the types illustrated in (3) through (6) above by saying that they are object related. However the task with which the texts of the present study were elicited, narration of a film, is much less likely to produce deictic or exophoric reference than the task of constructing a story from pictures which was used by Karmiloff-Smith and Frawley and Lantoff. In the present case two other explanations seem more plausible. It is possible that the task is quite difficult given the writers' competence in English, a rather surprising conclusion in the case of 12th graders who have attended a bilingual school since pre-school, and that consequently processing limitations impede the non-native speakers' ability to attend to discourse constraints. Alternatively, it is possible that the fact that Spanish is a pro-drop language makes subject specification less salient, the second language speaker contenting himself in English with filling the subject NP slot, often left empty in Spanish, with an overt marker.

The results of the anova for zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions indicate that the non-native speakers make less use of this device than native speakers. Inspection of the stories indicates that this difference is not the result of non-native speakers' greater use of other means to link actions such as subordination or the use of participial phrases. Rather in many cases, non-native speakers use a series of full parallel clauses where native speakers might well employ zero anaphora as in the examples to be found in (7) through (9) below.

(7) It used the monkey's tail as a vine. It swinged back and forth holding on it. It started to jump from vine to vine. (Emw6h231)

(8) She landed in a cage. She began an inspection. She made a noise. (Emw6h241)

(9) But when he got out, he couldn't see the sky and he didn't know why. He was trying to investigate why. And he began to look around the feet of a big, huge pink elephant and stepped on a leg. (Emw12h781)

Since the non-native speakers' first language, Spanish, not only allows zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions but also in any subject position NP slot, it is somewhat surprising that they employ fewer compound verbs than native speakers. One might rather expect that the non-native speakers would overextend verbal compounding in English to nonparallel structures, but indeed this occurs very rarely. One possible interpretation of the findings is that subjects as fluent as the present ones are well aware of the fact that English, unlike Spanish, is not a pro-drop language, and that they therefore tend to overfill the subject position. A different explanation is suggested by the work of Braun and Klassen (1973). They found that bilingual German-English and French-English 4th and 6th graders produced significantly fewer coordinate verbal constructions than did monolinguals. As in the present study, grade was not significant. Since neither French nor German is a pro-drop language, no transfer explanation is feasible here. Instead the authors conclude that the bilinguals simply display greater syntactic immaturity. But if syntactic immaturity is the explanation for the difference between the native and non-native speakers, the data from the present study indicate the developmental lag of non-native speakers to be quite large, since there is no interaction of grade by language. However, examination of the means for each subgroup (6thEng=.17, 12thEng=.14, 6thSp=.11, 12thSp=.13) does suggest the possibility of a lag since for native English speakers coordinate verbal constructions decrease in frequency from 6th to 12th grade suggesting that other grammatical devices such as subordination are being substituted while for the non-natives these verbal constructions increase in frequency from sixth to twelfth grades.

Continuing with the qualitative analysis of the stories, we note another distinction between native and non-native speakers' texts. While non-native speakers appear to have a tendency to over-pronominalize, a few native speakers seem to overspecify referents, repeating full NP's where they are not needed to avoid ambiguity or provide structural variety. Examples (10) through (13) below exemplify this pattern which occurs much more frequently in mole stories than in owl stories. The syntax of mole stories was generally simpler than that of owl stories, reflecting their linearity. Perhaps full NP repetition is another reflection of linearity. Its use may also reflect native speakers' attempts to simplify their language use in accordance with the instructions to write a children's story.

(10) And they fly down as fast as they can and save the little red owlet from being eaten. *The red owlet* finally realizes his problem and overcomes it easy. *The red owlet* lives happily ever after. (Eow6f613)

(11) *Mommy and daddy owl* were happy. The next day *mommy and daddy owl* tried to teach the owlets to fly. (Eow12u701)

(12) *Mole* slid down the pink thing and then up to find himself face to face with a giant eye. *Mole* swung again to the end of the tentacle and, splash, found himself in water. *Mole* climbed onto ground and grabbed the nearest vine he could find. (Emw6f)

(13) As the lion sobbed to himself the mole tiptoed around the lion, summoned all of his strength, and bit the lion on the tail. *The lion* lept up roaring, and the loose tooth was pulled neatly out of his jaw. *The lion* saw what had happened. *The lion* walked to the mole and picked him up. (Emw12u769)

In concluding this qualitative discussion of group differences in pronominalization it should be noted that there is clear but limited evidence of transfer of the optional null subject at the sentential level from Spanish to English. However the resultant omission of subjects in English is very infrequent in this corpus of data either with respect to referential NPs or expletives (non-referential NPs). The only occurrences in forty stories appear in examples (14) to (20) below.

(14) The mole pull the lion´s tail, and the lion moved. The tooth came out from his mouth. The lion´s ache stop completely and Ø laughed. He took the mole in his hand and kissed him. (Emw12h784)

(15) And the reason for that was that he had a pain in one of his teeths and Ø hurt him very much. (Emw12h787)

(16) As soon as the mole got out of the water, Ø started to scream. (Emw12h789)

(17) The fearful yellowish animal woke up and produce a roar full of anger. Later on he figured out that the pain was gone along with the tooth. There he saw the animal that had helped him, the cute little mole. The lion´s face was full of joy and Ø put the little mole around his arms. (Emw12h791)

(18) His brothers got so afraid that Ø ran out of the tree. (Eow12h739)

(19) The three supposedly went to sleep. And when their father and mother went to see them, it was missing, the orange one. And they were in a hurry looking for him. After a while Ø found him watching television. (Eow12h744)

(20) And the owlet drawed an angel that Ø saw on tv. (Eow6h228)

In all of these cases although there is no surface structure subject, the underlying subject is easily recoverable. In examples (14) and (17) even though the head nouns of the subject NP´s are *ache* and *face* respectively, the theme is clearly the lion as indicated by the context provided by adjacent sentences. In example (15) the subject, one of his teeth, is clearly indicated by the semantics. These cases may reflect the blurring of the distinction between coordinate clauses and coordinate verb phrases in Spanish which results from the null subject option. In examples (16), (18), and (20) the pronoun has been omitted in a position in which it would be highly unlikely to occur in Spanish. In example (19), with the addition of the conjunction *and*, a coordinate structure in which a zero anaphor is permissible would be formed. So example (19) may be another illustration of overgeneralization of permissible contexts for zero anaphora. It is interesting to note that all but one of these examples were produced by 12th graders rather than 6th graders. The stories of the 12th graders are generally syntactically more complex than those of fifth graders, and it may be that this added complexity strained the processing abilities of the non-natives thus resulting in zero anaphora errors.

In concluding this section on possible sentential transfer effects one other construction should be mentioned. In Spanish as noted by Gili Gaya (1961) and Tarr, Centeno, and Lloyd (1973) among others, the third person plural form of a verb can be used impersonally with a null subject when the subject is unknown, suppressed, or without interest as in examples (21) and (22). The third person plural may be used even when the speaker or writer knows that the subject is a single person acting as an individual, not as a representitive of a collectivity, as in example (23).

(21) Llaman a la puerta. (They) are knocking at the door. (subject unknown)

(22) No me dejaron hablar. (They) did not let me speak. (subject without interest or surpressed)

(23) Le dieron un golpe en la nariz. (They) gave him a blow in the nose. (singular subject)

Although the first two uses of a plural form are appropriate in English (with an expressed pronoun), the third usage is not. However this latter usage appears to have been transferred to English by a few of the Mexican students, who employed a plural subject and verb construction in describing actions carried out by singular agents, actions always described with singular constructions by native speakers. In examples (24), (25), (27), and (29) below the subject is a male teacher. In examples (26) and (28) the subject is a male school employee.

(24) All of the owls are learning math except him. And then class changes. _They_ show that the fox is bad and dangerous. (Eow12h732)

(25) Then the teacher calls upon our naughty owl that was watching tv again. So distracted was he that when _they_ called upon him, he went up to draw the saint on the board. (Eow12h736)

(26) Well they have to go to school. All his brothers come in. And he was the last one. _They_ ring twice the bell for him come. (Eow6h217)

(27) When the owlets went to school, he took his portable tv. And when the teacher told him to write the number ten he drew what he had seen on

tv. That day they showed him that a fox was very dangerous. (Eow6h218)

(28) So days and days passed. And the parents teached them how to fly. So the blue one made it very good. So it was the turn of the second one. And he made it very good. But it was the third owl's turn. And he was very nervous. So he fly. But he just fly a little and fell down. So the next day they rang the bell of the school and all the owls start to go to school. (Eow6h226)

(29) At school the teacher was asking questions. But the owlet was seeing tv. He saw how to draw an angel. So when the teacher called him he told a question to the owlet, and the owlet drawed an angel that saw at tv. After that they put a film of a fox and show to them that the fox is dangerous. (Eow6h228)

CONCLUSION

This study compared the patterns of subject position pronominalization and zero anaphora in English in stories written by monolingual American students and bilingual Mexican students at the sixth and twelfth grades. The possibility of both sentential and discourse level transfer effects resulting from the fact that Spanish is a pro-drop language was investigated as was the possibility of a developmental lag. The results indicate that while there are similarities in usage across all groups there are also important differences.

Although for all groups pronouns more frequently have referents located in an adjacent clause and more frequently have pronominal referents, sixth graders definitely pronominalize more than twelfth graders and non-native speakers pronominalize more than native speakers. Furthermore, non-native speakers pronominalize more than do native speakers both when the referent for the pronoun is a noun in a nonadjacent clause and when it is a pronoun in an adjacent clause. Thus the non-native speakers produced longer sequences in which the subject NP slot is filled by a pronoun, and there is also greater ambiguity of reference in their stories. These findings may be explained in terms of a developmental lag but also by discourse level transfer from Spanish. Since Spanish does not require an overt subject at the sentential level, native Spanish speaking children may not as quickly become aware as native English speaking children of the need to specify a referent in order to avoid textual ambiguity. Preliminary analyses of the Spanish stories in the corpus collected suggest this to be the case. In these stories, particularly those of the younger subjects, surface NP's have been widely omitted even when such omission leads to ambiguity unacceptable to native Spanish speaking adults. While it appears that the Spanish speaking children are well aware that in English an overt subject is necessary, what transfers may be a lack of attention to potential ambiguity, usage of pronouns in English paralleling usage of null subjects in Spanish.

Another possible instance of a possible L1 effect is suggested by the fact that native English speakers employ zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions more than do the non-native speakers. Since Spanish permits zero anaphora not only in coordinate verbal constructions but in the NP subject slot in general, this finding is at first glance somewhat surprising. Perhaps Spanish speaking students when confronted with English note that English requires an overt subject in positions in which Spanish does not, then overgeneralize the prohibition on null subjects. Alternatively, the lower occurrence of zero anaphora in parallel verbal constructions may simply reflect a lag in syntactic maturity. A choice between these alternative hypotheses would depend on obtaining comparable data from non-native English speakers whose first language requires that subject slots be filled.

Evidence of sentential transfer effects was quite limited in this study. There were a few instances of the use of third person plural pronominal anaphora to refer to actions carried out by singular agents. However subject deletion, which other investigators have found to be quite frequent in the English of native Spanish speakers, occurred very rarely in the corpus of data on which this investigation was based. The cases that occurred all involved complex syntactic structures. The explanation for the dearth of instances may be twofold. First, the students had all been attending a bilingual school for more than six years at the time the data were collected. Thus they had had long exposure to a formal language learning environment. Second, the data were written narratives so students had ample time to monitor their performance. In conclusion then, while there is an indication that native Spanish speaking students with prolonged and intense exposure to English still exhibit discourse level transfer effects from Spanish to English with respect to anaphora, the data indicate that for these students sentential transfer effects are minimal, at least in the written mode.

NOTES

[1] Since narratives were elicited from the Mexican students in Spanish as well as in English, two films were employed as stimuli in order to (1) avoid the possibility created by the use of a single film that the first narrative procedure might affect the second and (2) control for film effects.

[2] The same elicitation technique was employed previously by O'Donnell, Griffin and Norris (1967) with third, fifth, and seventh graders, and a similar technique was used with adults to obtain the data discussed in Chafe (1980).

[3] Only singular pronouns were included in the third measure as this measure entered into an anova with independent variables specifying the status of the referent of an item as pronominal or nominal and the location of the referent in either an adjacent or nonadjacent clause. The two referents of a plural pronoun might differ with respect to these factors making coding impossible.

[4] For the purposes of this paper the term clauses refers to finite (tensed) clauses.

[5] In measure two, only pronouns occurring outside quotations were included since it seemed possible that pronominalization patterns differed in quotations. However since plural forms were excluded from the third measure, singular forms in quotations were included to increase the number of instances. In fact, the majority of the stories contained either no quotations or very limited quotations.

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A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH:
AN ERROR IN "AN ERROR IN ERROR ANALYSIS"

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Recent research has shown that transfer operates on the discourse as well as the phonological, semantic and syntactic levels. In this paper, I suggest that this is the case with relative clauses (RCs) used by Chinese students of English. On the basis of a text analysis, I show that RCs are less frequent in Chinese than in English, and thus the low incidence of RCs in the interlanguage production by Chinese EFL students is not a case of avoidance as Schachter (1974) has suggested, but of transfer.

INTRODUCTION

As support for her claim that contrastive analysis (CA) has predictive value and that doing error analysis alone may obscure areas of difficulty for EFL learners, Schachter (1974) attempts to show that Chinese and Japanese EFL learners make fewer relative clauses (RCs) than other EFL students because they avoid the construction due to its difficulty. She compares "the major restrictive RC formation (RCF) strategies of 4 unrelated languages, Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, with the major restrictive RCF strategies of English" (Schachter, 1974, p. 207) and predicts that due to the different positions of a RC with respect to the head noun in English versus Chinese and Japanese, native speakers of the latter would have difficulty with RCF in English. In contrast, she predicts, Persians and Arabs would not, since the RC position is the same in those languages as in English.

Schachter states in support of her argument that the Chinese EFL learners produced such structures in English as ***We put them in boxes we call them rice boxes*** for the English RC ***We put them in boxes which we call rice boxes***. She regards this as a case of paraphrase to avoid the use of a RC. Schachter does not realize, however, that this interlanguage structure actually closely parallels the syntax that would be used in Chinese for that sentence. In this paper, I will compare the semantics and discourse functions of RCs in the two languages on the basis of a text analysis. I will show how RCs are differently distributed in the two languages by studying how the information conveyed in RCs in English is expressed in Chinese in other ways, such as *main clauses*, *independent* *sentences, have + head noun pattern, there be + head noun pattern, adverbial clauses, adjectives and idioms, etc.,* and how the information expressed in RCs in Chinese is expressed in different syntactic structures in English.

Recent research has shown that transfer operates on the discourse as well as the phonological, semantic, and syntactic levels. In this paper, I suggest that the avoidance of RCs addressed by Schachter is a case of transfer on the discourse level.

A restrictive RC in English and Chinese is a clause which restricts the reference of the head noun. English is different from Chinese in that it has post-nominal RCs, while Chinese has pre-nominal RCs.

A RC in Chinese is marked by *de*, which marks adjectival modifiers, possessives, and nominalizations as well. The RC marker *de* immediately precedes the head noun and is always obligatory except in the expression of time. An example is given in (1).

(1) a. *Wo mai de* shu (pre-nominal)
I buy REL book
b. the book *that I bought* (post-nominal)

Although RCs exist in both English and Chinese and both languages can relativize any position on Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), as I will show below, the distribution of RCs in Chinese is different from that of RCs in English, and RCs in Chinese are, generally speaking, not as common as in English (perhaps due to the fact that the former are pre-nominal, and therefore, left-branching).

The book from which most of my data are taken is entitled "Finding Family Roots", a bilingual book, a collection of articles on the impressions of China by the 2nd, 3rd, or 4th generation of the Chinese Americans or Chinese Canadians who were born and grew up in America or Canada and who came to Xinhui and Enping counties in China to look for the family roots. All these articles were written in English and translated into Chinese by *China Reconstructs*. The following is a table of the distributions and occurrences of RCs in this book in English and Chinese. Although Schachter does not talk about non-restrictive RCs in her paper, I have included non-restrictive RCs in my discussion and data, as their pattern distribution is similar.

Table 1

	Tot. No. of RCs	Corresponding No. of RCs in Both Lang.	No. of RCs Only in Eng.	No. of RCs Only in Chinese
Chinese	91	59	0	32
English	124	59	65	0

RESTRICTIVE RCS IN ENGLISH VS. NON-RC CONSTRUCTIONS IN CHINESE

In what follows, I will compare the distribution patterns and discourse functions of RC's in English and the variety of Chinese constructions used in the same contexts.

Main or Independent Clauses

In some cases, a restrictive RC in English which is the focus of the sentence or which contains the main assertion is expressed in a main or independent clause in Chinese. For example, Ziv (1975) argues that the content expressed in the extraposed RC as in (2) a. and (3) a. is the focus or main assertion of the speaker or writer. Creider (1979) also observes that RC extraposition is one of the focusing rules in English.

(2) a.A man just came in *who was wearing very funny clothes.*
b.Jin lai le ge ren, *ta chuandai qiguai.*
in come PFV one man he wear funny

(3) a.A girl is studying with me *who has an IQ of 200.*
b.Wo you ge nu tongxue, *ta de zhishang wei 200.*
I have one girl classmate she GEN IQ is

In (2) a. and (3) a., the topics are *a man* and *a girl* respectively and the rest of the sentences are the comments. However, as has been mentioned above, in order to highlight the main assertions, extraposed RCs are used in both sentences. But in (2) b. and (3) b., the main assertions are expressed by independent clauses which are comments on the previous clauses -- the topics.

(4) a.I don't believe a single one of us ever imagined we would be walking through halls lined with students

who greeted us first with flowers, then bugles, then applause.
b. Wo xiangxin, women dangzhong meiyou yige ren
I believe us among not one person
hui xiangdao women zou guo dating shi,
would imagine we walk through halls time
xushengmen liedui xian yong huashu, jiezhe
students would line-up first with flowers then
chuiqijunhao ranhou you relie guzhang lai
bugle then also warmly applaud for
huanying women.
welcome us

In (4), *who greeted us first with flowers, then bugles, then applause* is syntactically a RC in English whose function is to identify and restrict the reference of the head noun *students*. However, this restrictive RC has a communicative function as well. The focus of the sentence, instead of being *they had not imagined* is *how they were welcomed*. Therefore in Chinese this focus surfaces as the main clause of the sentence.

(5) a. ...because they (the gifts) were given by the people *who have known me for only a short time and yet accepted me as one of their old friends.*
b. ...yinwei *zengsong lipin de ren* gang renshi
because give gifts REL people just know
wo bujiu, jiu ba wo dang cheng tamen de lao
me not-long already BA me regard as they GEN old
pengyou le.
friend CRS.

Most of the information in (5) a. is conveyed in the RC, while the main clause mainly serves to continue the topic of the previous sentence. What is stressed in (5) is not the *action* of giving but *the kind of people* who have carried out the action. Therefore, this main assertion is presented in a RC in (5) a. and a main clause of (5) b. The passive construction in (5) a. corresponds to a RC in (5) b., where the RC is the topic.

The following is an example of RCs in English which is an independent sentence in Chinese.

(6) a. However, I saw many new ideas *that I will try in my American kitchen.*
b. Keshi, zheci wo que qinyan kandao
however this-time I but with-my-own-eyes see
le xuduo xin de pengtiao fangfa. *Deng wo huidao*
PFV many new NOM cooking ideas when I return
le Meiguo yihou, wo ye yao zai women jia
PFV American then I also will in our family
de chufang li shi yi shi.
GEN kitchen in try once try

What sentences (2) through (6) have in common is that the main assertions fall at the sentence final position. In the English versions RCs are employed and in the Chinese versions either main clauses or independent clauses are used. The corresponding positions of the main assertions in both languages might suggest the general tendency for the SVO languages to "treat initial position as topical and final position as focusing" (Creider, 1979, p. 19) or "the principle of functional sentence perspective", i.e. the "theme-rheme" sentence order Mathesius has discussed.

Have + Head Noun + RC

In English the sentence pattern consisting of *Have + Head Noun + RC* will seldom be a complex sentence with a restrictive RC in Chinese. Instead this pattern is usually realized by a serial verb construction as is shown in (7) and (8):

(7) a. Before coming to China, *I had many questions that lay deep within.*
b. Lai Zhongguo zhiqian, *wo you* xuduo wenti,
come China before I have many questions
shenshen *mai* zai xinli.
deep lie within

(8) a. *I have a sister who can dance.*
b. *Wo you* ge meimei *hui* tiaowu.
I have a sister can dance

There is also another sentence pattern, the *There be* pattern, which contains a restrictive RC that is not generally rendered into a restrictive RC in Chinese, as in (9) and (10):

(9) a. *There were* certain aspects of China *which I was very interested in examining.*
b. Wo dui Zhongguo de mouxie wenti *hen you*
I about China GEN some aspects very have
xingqu jinxing kaocha.
interest carry-out examining

(10) a. *There is* a sense of purpose and order *which prevails in the halls and classrooms.*
b. *Cong litang dao jiaoshi* dou shi ren gandao
from halls to classrooms all make people feel
zheli de xuexiao mubiao mingque, zhixu jingran.
here GEN schools purpose clear order good

What is shared by these two sentence patterns in English is the notion of *existentiality.* The communicative function of the main clauses *Have + Head Noun* and *There be + Head Noun* fulfill is to inform the listener about existence of the head noun, whereas what actually contributes the major information in these sentences is the RCs, that is, *Head Noun + RCs. Questions lay deep within; sister can dance; I was interested in examing certain aspects* and *a sense of purpose and order prevails in the halls and classrooms* are the major information and main assertion. Therefore these types of sentences do not occur in a restrictive RC form, as RCs in Chinese, unlike those in English, have only one function -- restriction of the reference of the head noun.

Adverbial Clauses

Some types of RCs in English are expressed as adverbial clauses (*adverbial clause of concession, of reason, of time, etc.*) in Chinese. Although syntactically different, these have the same meanings and discourse functions. See the examples in (11).

(11) a. Mother *who was married at sixteen* had been very accurate about village life.
b. *Jinguan Muqin shiliu sui jiu jiehun*
although Mother sixteen years(old) already marry
le, ta jiangshu de nongcun shenghuo qingkuang
PFV she tells REL village life situation
hai shi feichang queque de.
still shi very accurate de

Although syntactically *who was married at sixteen* is a RC used to give more information about the head noun, the implication of this discourse expressed in a RC is that although Mother got married very early and therefore left her village quite young, she could still remember many things and was very accurate about village life. Therefore in Chinese, an adverbial clause of concession is used.

In (12), the material presented in the restrictive RC provides a reason for why the speaker was uncertain about a cause of action. It is thus expressed as an adverbial clause of reason in Chinese.

(12) a. I began to wonder if I would be comfortable in a place *where the people for once are just like me and yet in many ways not like me at all.*
b. Wo bu zhidao zai nali wo huibuhui gandao
I not know in there I whether-or-not feel
shufu, *yinwei nali de renmen ji hen*
comfortable because there GEN people for once very
xiang wo, you you xuduo fangmian genben bu
(be)like me but have many aspects at all not
xiang wo.
(be)like me

And in (13), the corresponding clause of the RC *that had preceded it* in English is an adverbial clause of time in

Chinese.

(13) a. Furthermore, their own welcome was especially
moving because of the tiring drive in drab weather
that had preceded it.
b. Zai zhe yinyu de rizi li, *jingguo ling ren*
at this drab NOM weather in after cause people
pifa de changtu luxing hou, tamen de relie
tiring NOM long trip after they GEN warm
huanying shi women tebie gandong.
welcome make us especially moving

Some RCs which modify the head noun *time* in English, once translated into Chinese, cannot be rendered as RCs. Note, however, that these RCs in English have a time adverbial sense and are therefore semantically and functionally, if not syntactically, similar to adverbial phrases of time in Chinese.[1]

(14) a. Was that the first *time you went to the Great Wall?*
b. Na shi ni *diyi ci* qu Changcheng ma?
that was you first time went Great-Wall Q

Shi...De Construction

The *shi...de* construction, a kind of nominalization in Chinese which is usually employed to emphasize what occurs in between *shi* and *de* (Li &Thompson, 1984, p. 589), finds its counterpart in a type of RC in English:

Noun (Pro.) + be + Indefinite Art + Head Noun + RC

Although these two syntactical structures in English and Chinese are different, semantic and functional similarities between the two are obvious. Compare (15) a. and b., (16) a. and b.

(15) a. Enping is a place where the scenery can really
captivate you...
b. Enping de Jingse *shi mi ren de.*
GEN scenery shi captivate people de

(16) a. China is a country that is behind Canada in
technology and a number of science disciplines.
b. Zhongguo zai jishu he yixie kexue
China in technology and a number science
xueke fangmian *shi luohou yu Jianada*
disciplines aspects shi behind COM Canada
de.
de

In (16), if not for emphasis, this sentence could be written as *China is behind Canada in technology and a number of* *science disciplines.* The reason why the author uses a RC in English instead of a coordinate structure is to emphasize what kind of country China is, i.e. to emphasize that China is behind Canada. The context for this sentence makes clear that the RC in question serves to affirm the supposition that *China is behind Canada.* That is, the preceding paragraphs are devoted to a discussion about living conditions in China and have left on the reader the impression that China is not rich and the following sentence expresses the determination after the affirmation by saying: *But China does not lack the willingness and desire to learn.*

The following is another example of the same pattern:

(17) a. I realize this is a situation that the government
wants to improve upon.
b. Wo liaojie dao zhengfu *shi yao gaibian zhe*
I realize PFV government shi want improve this
zhong zhuangkuang de.
kind situation de.

Idioms and Other Expressions

As if to compensate for the constraints brought about by the pre-nominal structure of RCs and to avoid the awkwardness a lengthened RC in Chinese might cause, Chinese has many vivid and economical idioms or adjectives which are able to fulfill the same task of a RC in English. These are fixed expressions usually entered as units in dictionaries.

(18) a. The next time we return we hope to witness a *China*
that is stronger and more prosperous.
b. Women xiwang xiaci zailai de shihou,
we hope next-time return REL time
hui kandao yige *gengjia qiangda, gengjia*
will-be-able witness a more strong more
fanrong de Zhongguo.
prosperous NOM China

(19) a. I'm from a *country whose history goes back*
thousands of years.
b. Wo laiziyu yige *lishi youjiu* de guojia.
I come from a history old NOM country

NON-RESTRICTIVE RCS IN ENGLISH VS.

NON-RC CONSTRUCTIONS IN CHINESE

Chinese only has restrictive RCs while English has both restrictive and non-restrictive RCs. Therefore, non-restrictive RCs in English appear in other forms in Chinese, such as independent and adverbial clauses, and are typographically indicated by parentheses or dashes. This section is devoted to the cases in which non-restrictive RCs are normally required in English while no correspondent RCs occur in Chinese. As is known, the function of restrictive RCs is to identify and restrict the reference of the head noun and that of the non-restrictive RCs is to supply the background information. RCs are not normally used in Chinese when a non-restrictive RC is required in English to provide the background information.

Typographical Indications

(20) a. John Blair, who lives next door, is my best friend.
b. John Blair (ta zhu zai gebi) shi wo de hao
he lives in next-door is I GEN best
pengyou.
friend

In (20), the reference of the proper noun is clear and already restricted enough, therefore it does not need any more restriction. The non-restrictive RC in this sentence is added to supply the background information about *John Blair* as against the main assertion *is my best friend*. Thus, as there is no non-restrictive RC in Chinese, the background information is provided as a parenthetical remark in parentheses.

The following is another example of a main clause indicating such information in Chinese, here set off by dashes.

(21) a. We even visited the piers, where the first boats took our forefathers to the promised land--America.
b. Women shenzhi fangwen le naxie matou--dangnian
we even visit PFV those piers--those years
zaizhe women zuxian de chuanbo jiu shi cong
carry our forethers REL boats just shi from
nali qicheng hangxiang xiwang zhi bang
there set off sail-to promised NOM country
Meiguo de.
America de

Adverbial Clauses

The main assertion of (22) is *must celebrate his birthday on Christmas Day* while *who was born on December 25th* is simply the background information which helps the reader understand why his/her father has to celebrate his birthday on Christmas. Therefore a non-restrictive RC is used in English and in Chinese an adverbial clause is used in such a case.

(22) a. My father, who was born on December 25th, must celebrate his birthday on Christmas Day.
b. *Yinwei* wo fuqin shengri shi 12 yue 25 hao, ta
because my father birthday is month date he

zhihao ba shengri he Shengdangjie yiqi
must BA birthday with Christmas together

guo.
celebrate

Independent Clauses

Sometimes, instead of restricting a particular head noun, the RC restricts the reference of the whole clause that occurs before and the restriction is loose. The characteristics of low referentiality of this kind of RC makes it independent in both English and Chinese and hence it occurs in the non-restrictive form in English and becomes an independent clause in Chinese.

(23) a.She always yells at people, which is not typical of
a girl.
b.Ta chang chongzhe renmen hanjiao. Nuhaizi
she always at people yells girl
yiban shi bu zhe yang de.
typically shi not this kind de

NON-RC STRUCTURES IN ENGLISH VS. RCS IN CHINESE

What I have been discussing so far are cases where English tends to have a RC structure (restrictive or non-restrictive) while Chinese doesn't. Although RCs are less common in Chinese as compared with English due to the syntactic constraint in the Chinese RC structure, there are also cases where RCs are present in Chinese but absent in English. However, if these cases are studied closely, we would find that although these English sentences do not have a RC structure, they do contain past and present participle phrases, which are in fact reduced RCs, prepositional phrases and adjectives which also function as RCs.

Past Participle Phrases

(24) a.We confronted the reality of the natural hardship
endured by the Chinese people.
b.Guangshi zhexie jingli jiu shi women
just these experiences already make us
qinshen tiyandao le *Zhongguo renmin zai ziran*
oneself experience PFV Chinese people in natural
zaihai zhong suo zaoshou de jiannankunku.
disaster in by confront REL hardship

(25) a.The clothing *worn* is not the stereotyped dull,
drab garments once *thought*,...

b.*Tamen chuan de yifu* zaiyebu shi *yiqian*
They wear REL clothes no-longer are once

xiangxiang de na zhong qianpianyilu he
think REL that kind stereotyped-dull and

qingyise de le...
drab NOM CRS

Present Participle Phrases

(26) a. I recall my parents speaking of China and of
relatives living here ...
b. Wo hai jide... tanqi women de yixie *zhu*
I still remember speak of our GEN some live
zai nali de qinqi de qingkuang.
at there REL relatives GEN situation

(27) a. They were but a foretaste of the overwhelming
reception *waiting for us* at the hotel itself.
b. Zhe jinjin shi *women jijiang zai luguan nei*
this only is we soon prep. hotel in
shoudao de shengda huanying de yige
receive REL overwhelming reception GEN a
xumu.
foretaste

Adjectives

(28) a. They utilize the few material resources *available*..
b. Tamen liyong *(tamen) xianyou de wuzi*
they utilize (they) now-have REL material
ziyuan...
resources

(29) a. ...while those of us *familiar with* Chinese food ...
b. ...er women zhexie *chang chi Zhongguo cai de*
while we these often eat Chinese dish REL
ren...
people...

Prepositional Phrases

(30) a. In the late afternoon many Chinese are walking home
holding a piece of *fish from the day's catch.*
b. Bangwan, henduo Zhongguoren dou shi
in-the-late-afternoon many Chinese all are
buxing huijia, shouli tizhe yitiao *dangtian*
walking home in-hand carry one-piece the-day
dadao de xinxian de yu.
catch REL fresh NOM fish

(31) a. ...this tranquility was interrupted by events
beyond any man's control.

b....zhezhong ningjing shenghuo jing wei *ren*
this tranquil life unexpectedly by man
suo wu fa kongzhi de shijian dapo le.
by no way control REL events break PFV

Considering that the Chinese text in the bilingual book I have studied is a translation from English, it might have been influenced to a certain extent by the English version. In other words, the difference in the distributions of RCs in the two languages might be greater and there might be even fewer RCs if it had been written in Chinese in the original. Wang (1985) observes that sentences of classical Chinese are generally shorter than sentences of the European languages. He claims that nowadays there is a tendency in modern Chinese to lengthen sentences because of the influence of the Western style. One of the ways in which the sentences are lengthened is, perhaps, by using more RCs.

SUMMARY

In this paper I have attempted to show that Chinese discourse makes less use of RCs than English and the distributions of RCs in the two languages are different. I have also demonstrated that Chinese and English use different syntactic constructions to perform some of the same discourse functions. Therefore, it is possible that the Chinese learners Schachter studied were transferring the construction strategies of Chinese into English on the basis of discourse similarity, resulting in a low incidence of RCs in their interlanguage. This would thus not be a case of avoidance as Schachter has suggested, but of transfer.

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[1]NOTES

An opposite case is observed by Chao (1968, p. 112): "A very frequent and important use of the adjective clause (in Chinese) is that of modifying a word for time, place, or condition, thus forming a subject expression of time, place, or condition, often translatable into an adverbial clause (in English)."

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SO THEY GOT THE MESSAGE, BUT HOW DID THEY GET IT?

Lawrence F. Bouton

Conversational implicature (Grice 1975, 1981) is central to the communication process. At the same time, its effectiveness depends upon the extent to which the participants in any interaction share a common world view, especially with regard to the contextual elements on which implicature is based. For this reason, it is important to the study of cross cultural interaction that we discover the extent to which NS and NNS of various languages recognize and interpret implicatures similarly in various contexts. And to discover this, we must find effective tools through which implicature can be investigated. This report focuses on one such tool -- a multiple choice device -- and the results that it produced.

Our discussion will be divided into four parts. First, we will describe implicatures and their importance in cross cultural communication, so that we will have a common understanding of what we are investigating. Second, we will briefly mention two previous studies in this area that used open-ended questions, and we will show why such instruments are inherently flawed as a means of studying the use of implicatures. Third, we will review my own ongoing investigation of the cross cultural interpretation of implicature, using a multiple choice test as the investigative device. And finally, we will evaluate the effectiveness of the multiple choice test and suggest what implications this study has for our understanding of implicature in cross cultural communication and for research into indirect communication strategies of this sort.

Introduction: Implicature -- A Possible Obstacle to Cross Cultural Communication

It is fairly well accepted now that a great deal of what we say from day to day is communicated indirectly through what Grice (1975, 1981) labelled *conversational implicature*. According to Grice, conversation is a cooperative venture. Speakers, for their part, are expected to make what they say informative, truthful, relevant and clear. At the same time, if something a speaker says seems not to meet these expectations in the context of a particular interaction, the other participants assume that it is their interpretation rather than the speaker's intended meaning that is at fault, and they search for another that seems less flawed. If they find one, they assume that it, and not their original interpretation is the message that the speaker actually intended to convey. Consider (1), for example.

(1) Brad: Where's Sharon today?
Tina: She's having a big dinner party tonight.

Taken literally, Tina's response is irrelevant, but, of course, neither Brad nor anyone else would interpret it that way. Instead, he would assume that what Tina said did answer his question and that Sharon's whereabouts was related to the fact that she was giving the dinner. What message he infers from that will depend on what he knows about how a hostess (perhaps Sharon in particular) prepares a dinner party. But whatever inference he finally draws, he will assume that that was the message Sharon intended to convey. This message, together with the process through which it is derived, illustrates what Grice termed *conversational implicature*.

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For implicature to be effective as a communication strategy, speaker and listener must share a common perception with regard to four things: 1) the ways in which speakers and listeners are expected to cooperate; 2) the nature of the conversational context, linguistic and otherwise; 3) the background knowledge necessary to derive the implicature from the combination of the utterance and its context; and 4) the conventional meaning of the utterance in question. All four of these factors play a role in a speaker's construction of an implicature and in a listener's interpretation of it. To the extent that speakers and listeners have a common perception of what these four factors involve, implicature can work; the message that the one intends and the other infers will be essentially the same.

But this raises a serious question as to the effectiveness of implicatures in cross cultural conversations involving native speakers of different languages. Keenan (1980), for example, demonstrated that even something so basic as what is accepted as *cooperative behavior* in the Gricean sense may differ from one culture to another. What constitutes being *sufficiently informative* to a member of the Malagasay society, she says, may not seem sufficient to someone from a Western industrialized nation, with the result that the latter may infer that the former is using implicature where none is intended. It would seem reasonable, then, to assume in the absence of evidence to the contrary that participants in cross cultural conversation might differ in the understanding they bring to any or all of the four factors just mentioned. Given this possibility, can implicature be considered a viable tool of cross cultural communication? And in our own context here within the United States we might add -- to what extent can NNS from outside the United States interpret implicatures in English as the NS do?

THREE STUDIES COMPARING NS AND NNS INTERPRETATIONS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH IMPLICATURES

Using an Investigative Instrument With an Open Ended Question Format

Devine (1982) tried to answer this question by asking 15 NS and 15 NNS to paraphrase 15 brief dialogues in which one character used implicature as a means of conveying his or her message. Devine's reasoning was that since implicature is part of a speaker's message, it would be included in any complete paraphrase of what a speaker said. The subjects' paraphrases were read by two native speaker judges who determined whether the subjects had (or had not) understood the implicatures that were included in the original dialogues -- or whether it was simply impossible to tell. Disagreements between the judges were settled by a third native speaker. In general, Devine found that the extent to which NS and NNS recognized and interpreted the implicatures in the same way depended on which of Grice's maxims was violated and what the basis of the violation was. But she was able to conclude that "speakers do not uniformly respond to the manipulation of [Grice's maxims] as a Gricean analysis predicts they will." She also suggests that her research supports that of Keenan (1980) and that the conversational expectations of interlocutors "may vary because of cultural or situational constraints on these [maxims]" (p. 203).

In 1985, in an attempt to test Devine's results using a sample of 60 NNS and 70 NS, I developed a similar instrument. However, the task given to the subjects was streamlined to some extent by asking them to paraphrase only the utterance in the dialogue that contained the intended implicature. Nothing was said, of course, that would indicate that the message in that utterance was expressed indirectly; the subjects were simply asked to paraphrase what the character uttering the particular lines meant by what he said. The utterance containing the implicature, then, was the focal point of each question. The primary challenge the subjects faced as they attempted to interpret the utterance in question was to decide whether it should be taken literally or interpreted as an implicature and, in either case, to paraphrase what the message was. But it quickly became obvious that there was a serious problem with this type of open ended instrument. The paraphrases of both NS and NNS subjects were often ambiguous. Read in one way, these paraphrases expressed the meaning that the utterance in the test item would have had if it were taken literally; read another way, these same paraphrases seemed to capture the implicature which that utterance was intended to convey. Nor was there any clue in the subjects' answers that would help the judges evaluating the paraphrases choose between these two possible interpretations. In these cases, the decision of the judges amounted to educated guesswork at best. Consider, for example, Ryan's second turn in (2), an item adapted from Richards (1980), and some paraphrases of it in (3) and (4). (The utterance in (2) that is to be paraphrased by the subject is italicized here, though not on the test itself.)

(2) Two teachers are talking about a student's paper.

Mr. Ranger:	Have you read Mark's paper on modern pirates yet?
Mr. Ryan:	Yes. I read it last night.
Mr. Ranger:	What did you think of it?
Mr. Ryan:	*I thought it was well typed.*

Suppose that we were asked to judge the accuracy of different paraphrases of Ryan's comment such as those in (3).

(3-a) He thought it was easy to read.

(3-b) He didn't have much to say about it.

Suppose also that the answer that we have been told to accept is some form of one given by Richards to the effect that Ryan does not like the paper. With that target answer in mind, how do we evaluate these two paraphrases?

First, let's consider (3-a). We could assume that the subject writing this paraphrase intends us to take it at face value, i.e., as a comment on the legibility of the paper, in which case we would also assume that that subject has interpreted Ryan's comment literally. A well typed paper is, in fact, easy to read. On the other hand, (3-a) can also be interpreted as containing an implicature conveying the same message that Richards finds in Ryan's comment. In saying only that the paper was easy to read, the paraphrase can be understood to be implicating that "the other qualities of the [paper] were not worth commenting on," i.e., that in Ryan's mind, it was not very good (p. 40).

As for the response in (3-b), on one possible reading, it simply describes the situation found in the dialogue: Ryan did not, in fact, say very much about the paper. But this paraphrase can also be interpreted as conveying the same implicature as (3-a). Again, the fact that Ryan "didn't have much to say about it," implies that there was not much good that he could say, i.e., he didn't like it.

Now, as judges, which meaning would we assign these paraphrases? Do we assume that they should be taken literally? Or do we see them as capturing the implicature? Unfortunately, whichever decision we make is an arbitrary one. And if we guess wrong, the results of the experiment, and our understanding of how well NNS grasp implicatures in English, will be somewhat distorted and unreliable. Nor will the use of more than one judge increase the accuracy of the judgement rendered in situations like this, since the often subtle clues used by the NS judges in interpreting a particular paraphrase may or may not have been intended by the NNS subjects. Two guesses are not necessarily any more accurate than one.

And there is another problem facing evaluators of open ended questions. The need for arbitrary decisions increases with the number of paraphrases they must consider. The more responses to a particular question the judges must evaluate, the more the differences between them seem to blur at different points.

For example, which of the paraphrases given in (4-a) through (4-k) can we say mean the same thing? Which should we accept as appropriate interpretations of Ryan's comment.

(4-a) He didn't like the content of Mark's paper.

(4-b) The paper didn't seem to impress him very much, and maybe the typing was its only saving grace.

(4-c) He thought that Mark's paper was so good that he could confirm of it.

(4-d) He didn't say. He only said the typing was good, so the content could have been terrible.

(4-e) Mr. Ryan did not go through the contents of Mark's paper, but he was convinced as to the clearness of the typed paper and expressed his opinion regard ing the type.

(4-f) He thought that Mark's paper was well typed.

(4-g) Typing was well done, but the content was not so good.

(4-h) He thought it was typed well, but the content wasn't quite so good.

(4-i) Mr. Ryan likes Mark's paper only because it is well typed. Maybe the content is not so good.

(4-j) He thought Mark's paper was good only because it was typed without typing errors.

(4-k) He didn't like the content but the neatness captivated Ryan.

Which of these paraphrases show that the subjects writing them have understood the implicature in Ryan's comment? As we attempt to answer this question, we notice that the eleven paraphrases given here seem to divide into two groups: one group, (4-a) through (4-e), is straightforward and relatively easy to evaluate; the rest are either opaque or ambiguous and quite difficult to judge. (4-a) and (4-b), for example, state Ryan's implicated message clearly. On the other hand, just as clearly, (4-c) takes what Ryan said literally and misinterprets it as high praise, and (4-d) explicitly denies that Ryan expressed any judgement at all with regard to the overall value of the paper. And (4-e), while recognizing that Ryan is using implicature, assumes the implied message to be that Ryan has not yet read the paper at all -- a message that would be plausible only if Ryan had not said on his previous turn that he had read it the night before. All of these paraphrases seem fairly straightforward and easy to evaluate: the subjects writing (4-a) and (4-b) seem to have grasped Ryan's implicature; the authors of (4-c), (4-d), and (4-e) did not.

But if it is easy to see whether some of the paraphrases in (4) capture the implicature in Ryan's remark, the others are more difficult to interpret. On the one hand, these other paraphrases do indicate that Ryan is less than satisfied with the content of the paper and suggest an awareness of what Ryan was implying by mentioning only the typing. At the same time, however, they also seem to take his favorable comment about the typing of the paper at face value. As a result, the extent to which these subjects realize that Ryan's comment suggests an overall negative view of the paper is uncertain and seems to vary from one subject to the next. For example, (4-f) is ambiguous, like (3-a) discussed earlier: taken literally, it seems to interpret Ryan's comment as praise for the typing, but it can also be understood to imply that Ryan did not like the paper at all. Similarly, the four items in (4g) through (4-j) point out both Ryan's positive reaction to the form and his negative reaction to the content, but they fail to draw any explicit conclusion concerning Ryan's opinion of the paper as a whole. Do we take this lack of explicit judgement literally and assume that the subjects who wrote these four comments missed Ryan's implied negative evaluation of the paper, or do we take for granted that they recognize the primacy of content over form in contexts like this and that their paraphrases do capture Ryan's message implicitly? Whatever decision we make, we are guessing at the exact meaning these subjects intended their paraphrases to have. Whether we guess right is to at least some extent a matter of chance.[1]

An Investigative Tool In a Multiple Choice Format: a Possible Solution

In order to get away from the difficulties faced by investigators in their analysis of subject-originated paraphrases like those found both in Devine's study and in the initial phase of my own, I decided to develop a multiple choice instrument with which to continue the investigation. Just as before, each question involved a brief dialogue containing an utterance that conveyed its message through implicature, together with enough context to suggest the message that the character meant to convey. But now, instead of being told to put that message in their own words, subjects were given four possible versions of what it might be and asked to choose among them. The answer expected for each question was a version of the paraphrase most commonly used by the 70 native speakers who had taken the open ended test earlier, a version that made the meaning of the implicature that the NS found in the test item explicit. The distractors for each item were chosen from NNS paraphrases that were different from those of the NS. After fine tuning during pilot testing of the various questions, a version of the multiple choice test was achieved on which there was a 90% or greater consensus among native speakers for 17 of the items and between 80% and 90% on another 6.

A primary advantage of the multiple choice instrument over the open ended questions used earlier is that by giving the subjects discrete, realistic choices from which to select the meaning of each utterance, we could avoid having to guess at their interpretations. The burden of having to select from among possible paraphrases of what the characters in the test items said now lay with the NS and NNS subjects taking the test. And this was as it should be.

During the spring and fall semesters of 1986, 436 NNS graduate and undergraduate students took this multiple choice test at the University of Illinois. As a control, 28 NS took the same test and their answers were compared with those of the NNS. The results of this study showed that the NNS derived the same message as the NS only 75% of the time. The effect of cultural background for the test as a whole, as measured by a one-way ANOVA was significant to the .0001 level ($F (6, 323) = 23.83, p < .0001$), and a pairwise comparison between all possible combinations of seven different language/culture groups using the Bonferonni T test showed differences that were significant at .05 between 13 of 21 possible pairs. Performance on a number of specific items was also influenced by the cultural background of the subjects (Bouton, 1988).

It was clearly established, then, that the cultural background of the subjects taking this multiple choice test significantly affected their performance both overall and on specific items. And since each item on this test was developed with the intent that a subject must be able to interpret an implicature appropriately in order to answer the item correctly, these results were taken as evidence that a subject's cultural background affected the extent to which he or she would interpret implicatures appropriately in English. This, of course, was a legitimate conclusion only if the multiple choice test we used did, in fact, measure the subject's ability to derive implicatures. But did it?

Like most multiple choice tests, this one had only two points of reference explicitly in focus: the problem posed and the possible solutions among which the subjects were to choose. For each test item, it was consciously assumed that, given the problem posed, subjects could reach what was considered the correct answer if they used the implicature on which the item was based. Unconsciously, however, we adopted a stronger position. In order to think of the test as a measure of a person's ability to use implicature in English, we had to presume not only that anyone using the intended implicature would select the right answer, but also that anyone selecting the right answer had used the intended implicature. In other words, we had to assume that a person would choose the right answer IF AND ONLY IF he or she had used the implicature around which the item was built. But to what extent was either of these positions tenable? Was it true that if the subjects used the intended implicature, they would arrive at the expected answer? And that if they did not use that implicature, they would derive some other meaning from the dialogue in the test item -- and choose the wrong answer? What can responses to a multiple choice test tell us about the strategies used by the subjects in answering them? And what can we learn about the nature of implicatures themselves?

WHAT THE MULTIPLE CHOICE FORMAT CAN, AND CANNOT, SHOW US ABOUT THE CROSS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION OF IMPLICATURES

The Investigative Framework: Multiple Choice Test + Post Test Interview

The study reported in this paper attempts to answer the questions raised at the end of the previous section. To do this, it was necessary to find a way of looking more directly into the process by which a subject moved from item to answer, i.e., to broaden out the PROBLEM ===> ANSWER relationship so as to include the strategy represented by the arrow as much as possible. Then we would have an instrument that would be represented more accurately by a diagram like PROBLEM ==STRATEGY=> ANSWER. The technique used to discover these strategies was a combination of multiple choice test and posttest interview.

None of the subjects used in this study had taken an implicature test before. They came from the top four classes in the Intensive English Institute at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) on a class by class basis. Each class was given a different, shortened version of the multiple choice test that had been used in the previous study. As the subjects finished, they were interviewed individually. They were asked what answer they had chosen for each item on the test and why they had chosen it. Interviewers were cautioned not to put words into the mouths of their subjects. But they could, of course, attempt to clarify answers they could not understand, by asking such questions as "Why (did you think that)?" or "I'm sorry. I couldn't understand what you said. Could you say that again?" These interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The Relevance Maxim: The *POPE Q* Implicature

Several types of implicature were studied in this way. These were categorized according to which of Grice's Maxims seemed central to their interpretation and what strategies were necessary to their derivation. In this paper, however, we will focus on only 10 test items, representing 4 types of implicature, with primary emphasis falling on 2 of those 4. First we will consider a set of test items built around the *POPE Q* implicature, which is associated with the Grice's Relevance Maxim. The second set of items that we will look at are based on what we will call the Minimum Requirement Rule (MRR), which is related to Grice's maxim requiring that the speaker be sufficiently informative. By limiting ourselves to test items based on these two types of implicature for the most part, we will have time to delve into each of them in considerable detail. But along the way, we will also mention two other test items, one based on Grice's Maxim of Manner (that one's contribution should be orderly) and the other one involving a different application of the maxim requiring sufficient information just mentioned.

First, then, the *POPE Q* implicature, which is named for its prototype found in Bill's rather flippant response in (5).

(5) Abe: Do you think Fritz will really be upset by what we're going to do?
Bill: Is the Pope Catholic?

As one can see, the *POPE Q* format is used to provide a rather saucy response to someone else's *yes/no* question. To implement it, the second speaker asks a *yes/no* question of his or her own, one that has two definitive characteristics. First, it must be essentially unrelated to the original question to which it is a response. By the term *essentially unrelated*, we mean that the answer to the second question cannot have any logical relationship to the answer to the first, e.g., precondition, or cause > effect. In (5), for instance, whether or not the Pope is Catholic is irrelevant to whether Fritz will be upset. It can, therefore, suggest to Abe that he should derive Bill's answer through the *POPE Q* implicature. In (6), on the other hand, Ben's question cannot trigger such an implicature because the availability of a court is relevant to any decision to play tennis -- a precondition of sorts.

(6) Angel: Want to play some tennis?

Ben: Is there a court available?

The other characteristic of the *POPE Q* implicature is that speakers' using it must make the answer to their (second) question the same as the answer they want to give to the first one: in (5), for example, "Yes" is the answer both to Bill's question and to Abe's. Also, the answer must seem obvious to both participants in the interaction. The message to be derived from the *POPE Q* format is that the answer to the original question is the same as the answer to the second one and just as obvious. In (5), for example, the message that Bill expects Abe to infer is "Sure Fritz will be upset!" In (6), on the other hand, the answer to Ben's question will probably not be obvious; nor will it necessarily be the same as Ben's answer to Angel. Ben may not be able to play even if a court is available. Ben's response in (6), then, has none of the features associated with the *POPE Q* implicature.

To facilitate the analysis of the data in this study, the comments made by the various subjects during the interviews have been divided into different groups. First, since we are interested in knowing the extent to which giving the right answer on the test is an indication that the subjects used the expected implicature to interpret the test item, all comments were first grouped in terms of whether the answer to which they were related was "right" or "wrong." Then the comments in each of those two major groups were subdivided according to the reasons the subjects gave during the interview for having chosen the answers they did. Those subjects whose reasons clearly indicated that they had used the intended implicature were placed in Subgroup (1); those that used some other strategy are in Subgroup (2). Some subjects gave no reason at all: their comments amounted to a simple restatement of the answer they selected on the test itself. These subjects were put in Subgroup (3). Some subjects seemed too confused for us to know exactly why they chose the answer they did. These subjects were assigned to Subgroup (4). The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 1. It will be noticed that the total number of subjects answering the different questions is not necessarily the same. This is because the size of the different English classes providing the subjects was not the same from one class to the other on the day the tests were given. However, since there was no intent to compare the results obtained using different questions statistically, the differences in the number of subjects answering one question or the other is not an impediment to the success of this study.

Table 1: Classification of Data from Four *Pope Q* Implicature Items

POPE Q ITEM:	Do duck's need flying lessons?	Does the sun come up in the east these days?	Is the water wet?	Is the sky green?
GROUP A:	14	11	16	15
Subgrp 1:	12	7	7	8
Subgrp 2:	0	0	6	5
Subgrp 3:	2	2	2	2
Subgrp 4:	0	2	1	0

GROUP A: THOSE CHOOSING THE "Right" (EXPECTED) ANSWER.

Subgrp 1: Those clearly indicating a grasp of the *POPE Q* Format.
Subgrp 2: Those explicitly mentioning a strategy other than *POPE Q*.
Subgrp 3: Those merely asserting their answer without explicit support.
Subgrp 4: Those too confused to be thoroughly analyzed.

GROUP B:	0	3	4	3
Subgrp 1:	0	0	0	1
Subgrp 2:	0	2	2	1
Subgrp 3:	0	1	2	1
Subgrp 4:	0	0	0	0

GROUP B: THOSE CHOOSING THE "WRONG" (OTHER THAN EXPECTED) ANSWER.

Subgrps 1 through 4 as above.

The first *POPE Q* item that we will analyze is given in (7).

(7) Liz is a 16 year old American girl. She is sitting in her bedroom doing some homework when her mother comes in to talk with her about the coming week. Liz's mother and father are going on a trip and it is the first time Liz will have been at home by herself for that long.

Mother:	Liz, I know that we have talked about this before, but are you sure that you can take care of your self next week and won't be too lonesome? I could get Grandmother to stay with you. She could help you with the cooking and so on.
Liz:	Mother, does a duck need flying lessons?

What is the point of Liz's question?

a> She is doing some homework and wants to know if ducks need help when they first learn to fly.

b> She would like her grandmother to stay with her so she could teach Liz what she needs to know.

c> She thinks that she will be able to take care of everything herself while her parents are away without any special help.

d> She is trying to change the subject. She is nervous about staying alone and doesn't want to discuss it.

This item has proved easy whenever it was given. 93% of the 436 NNS in the earlier study answered it correctly. In this study, all 14 subjects chose the expected answer <c>. 12 of them made comments much like those given in (8), explicitly mentioning the substance of Liz's question as the reason for their choice. On this basis, these twelve were included in Subgroup A-1 in Table 1, i.e., those subjects that clearly indicated that they had used the intended implicature to arrive at the expected answer. Sample comments from these twelve subjects are in (8).

(8) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1 (7)*: Those that Indicate a Grasp of the *POPE Q* Format.

- Because the duck can fly at first. Like that, he can manage his own work without any other's help.
- The question "Does a duck need flying lessons?" means it don't necessary to receive any lessons of that sort.[2] She has ability to do it. Something like that.
- In general, a duck don't need flying lessons. So she thinks she's a duck, so she don't need any help.

* The number in parentheses here and in other sets of examples refer to the number of the test item as it appears in this paper, not as it was on the test.

The comments of the two remaining subjects who answered this question are given in (9) and do not explicitly mention Liz's question or the fact that it constitutes the answer to her mother's. As a result, we cannot be certain that they recognized the relationship between the two questions or that they used the *POPE Q* implicature to arrive at their answers. Because of this lack of certainty, we classified their answers simply as correct *Assertions* and placed them in Subgroup A-3 in Table 1. However, neither of these two subjects said anything suggesting that they had used any other strategy to derive their answers. Nor did they mention the need to guess in this case, though subjects sometimes did mention that strategy in relation to other test items. Further, it is very easy to infer from the comments of these two subjects in this particular case that they did, in fact, use the *POPE Q* implicature. One subject remarks that Liz did not think her mother had to ask "such a question," presumably because the answer to it was obvious just as was the answer to Liz's own question. And the other subject seems to focus on the fact that the duck *can* fly, just as Liz can do whatever is necessary in order "to take care of everything herself." Although we can not be absolutely sure because of a lack of explicit evidence, all of these considerations suggest that these two subjects derived their answers by using the *POPE Q* implicature, just as the other 12 did. The *POPE Q* format, then, does appear to have been available to all fourteen of these NNS, and that format itself would not seem to be an inherent obstacle to cross-cultural communication.

(9) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-3 (7): Assertions of Implicature Meaning without Explicit Support.

- She thinks her mother don't have to ask such a question. She can do well.
- This mother recommends to her that when they go to vacation Liz's grandmother can stay with her. But according to Liz's answer she doesn't need grandmother's help. She can cook. She can...she is able to take care of everything herself.

Not all messages communicated through the use of the *POPE Q* implicature are as readily available to NNS, however, as we can see from the responses to the test item given in (10).

(10) A group of students are talking over their coming vacation. They would like to leave a day or two early, but one of their professors has said that they will have a test the day before the vacation starts. No one will be excused, he said. Everyone has to take it. Part of the students' conversation follows:

Kate:	I wish I didn't have a test next Friday. I wanted to leave for Florida before that.
Jake:	Do you really think we'll have that test?
Mark:	Professor Schmidt said he wasn't going anywhere this vacation.
Jake:	What do you think about it, Kate? Will he give us that test? Do you think we have to stay around until Friday?
Kate:	Does the sun rise in the east these days?

What is the point of Kate's last question?

a> I don't know. Ask me a question I can answer.

b> Let's change the subject. Prof. Schmidt is right behind you.

c> Yes, he'll give us the test. You can count on it.

d> Almost everyone else will be leaving early. It always happens. We might as well do it, too.

Of the 14 NNS answering this item, only nine chose the appropriate answer <c>, and only seven of those indicated explicitly during their interviews that the *POPE Q* implicature had led them to that answer. The remarks of those seven can be represented by the comment of one of them, who said: "Does the sun come up in the east these days? It does not change, and the professor does not change at all about the schedule."

Half of the subjects, then, answered the question in (10) correctly and apparently used the intended implicature to do so; for them, the test item worked as it was supposed to. But two other subjects also chose the correct answer to (10), even though they did not arrive at that choice through using the *POPE Q*. In the earlier study, since there were no interviews, these two would have been counted among those who "interpreted the implicature appropriately." In fact, the two constitute the first counterexamples to our assumption that subjects could derive the expected answers on this test if and only if they used the intended implicature. Their comments are given in (11).

(11) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-4 (6): Those Too Confused to Permit Thorough Analysis.

- Kate thinks the sun *doesn't* come up in the east these days, so we'll take the test."
- Kate is doubtful that the sun come up these days, so consequently is guessing that the test will be done.

These two responses are interesting as examples of how NNS may derive messages in a second language when faced with an implicature format with which they are unfamiliar and an utterance that makes absolutely no sense to them when interpreted literally. For one thing, both subjects realized that Kate's question was somehow an answer to Jake's, but neither understood how. Instead of following the *POPE Q* format and taking the answer to Kate's question and the answer to Jake's to be the same, both subjects tried to link the substance of the questions. Both subjects seemed to assume that since Kate was asking whether the sun came up in the east these days, she actually had doubts as to whether it did or not. They also seem to have assumed that these doubts were related in Kate's mind to whether the test would be held. So they put the mention of Kate's doubts in a *reason*-clause and followed it with the fact that she thought they would have the test in a *result*-clause beginning with the connective so.

To this point the interpretation of Kate's question by these two subjects is completely in keeping with our understanding of the nature and function of questions and with Grice's view of how implicatures work. To these two subjects, her question makes no sense in its context, yet they assume that it does convey a message. They then infer that message in terms of the normal function that questions perform in conversations.

However, how the inference by these two subjects that Kate is not sure that the sun will come up in the east leads them to their conclusion that the professor will give the test is anything but clear. But perhaps the subjects themselves do not see any real connection at all. Perhaps, instead, they are simply led by their past experience to assume two things about Kate's response to Jake, no matter what she actually said: first, that that response will be an answer to Jake's question; and second, that her answer will necessarily be that they will have the test, because professors do not cancel tests just so students can start their vacation early. If this analysis is correct, these two subjects have derived their understanding of Kate's question through the use of implicature, though not the *POPE Q*. This is true of both what they take to be Kate's doubt about the behavior of the sun and what they see as her (apparently non sequitor) belief that the professor will give the test. But the implicature they used was not the *POPE Q*. What they seemed to do instead is to infer that whatever Kate said, she could only have meant one thing in this particular situation. This type inference and its relationship to Grice's maxim requiring that conversationalists be sufficiently informative will be discussed later.

But before going on to the next test item, we should look at one more subject's unsuccessful attempt to derive Kate's message. This attempt is given in (12) and has somewhat different problems from those we have been discussing.

> (12) For this question, I used context, and I think that the sun rises, of course, in the east. And it shows some traditional thing. If every student leave early every year, it will happen for this year. In other words, if the sun always rises in the east, if it is normal for the students to leave early, then they will do it again this year.

This subject seems to understand that Kate is answering Jake's question by using an analogy. Also, unlike the two subjects whose comments we just discussed, this person realizes that Kate's question is rhetorical and that the answer to it will be the same as her message to Jake. If the students' early departure is as normal as the sun's rising in the east, this subject is saying, then it will continue to happen. So he chooses <d> i.e., "Almost everyone else will be leaving early. It always happens. We might as well do it, too"?

But if this subject understands the analogy between the answer to the rhetorical question that Kate asks and the one that she intends that question to answer, how can we be sure that the subject's choice is inappropriate? And if it is, where did he/she go wrong?

We can answer these two questions together. First, this subject's interpretation of Kate's message is inappropriate because no native speaker interpreted it that way; nor would they, we can be fairly sure, no matter how large the NS sample grew. Second, it does not directly answer either of Jake's questions at all.[3]

Jake asks whether the professor will give the test and whether the students will have to wait around to take it. If we assign the affirmative answer [illegible] Kate's question should elicit to these two questions by Jake, her message is "Yes, he will give the test and we will have to wait around." But from the comment in (11), we can see that the subject understands Kate to be saying, "Yes, the students will leave early." This answers an entirely different question, one that was not asked, i.e., "Will the students leave early this year?" As this subject interprets it, Kate's *POPE Q* question does not seem to fit into the framework established by the conversation of which it is a part. In short, this subject's mistake is in his failure to grasp the precise question that Kate is answering, and it is that failure that leads him to derive the wrong message from what Kate has said. In that sense, this subject has not used the *POPE Q* format effectively and so has selected the wrong answer from those the test item offers.

We turn now to the third *POPE Q* item, given in (13).

(13) Frank and his son Ricky are fishing. So far, they have not caught anything, and Ricky is getting bored.

Ricky: Gosh, Dad, will we ever catch anything?

Frank: Just take it easy, Ricky. We've only been here a little while. They'll be biting pretty soon.

Ricky: Do you really think there are any fish here, Dad?

Frank: Is the water wet, Ricky?

What does Frank mean by this last question?

a> Since we aren't catching anything, why don't we jump in that nice wet water and swim for a while.

b> Sure there are fish here.

c> Just relax Ricky. We have to learn to accept things the way they are.

d> I'm thirsty. How about getting me a drink of some nice cool wet water?

Seven subjects chose <b> and explained how they had arrived at their selection in ways that clearly reflected their use of the *POPE Q* implicature, as can be seen in their comments (14).

(14) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1 (13): Those Indicating a Grasp of the *POPE Q* Format.

- I chose <b> because the water is wet everywhere and, like that, there are always fish in the water.
- I am not sure, but the water is wet...this is also a fact...so it means maybe there are fish here.
- It is something like if someone asked why the sky is blue. So he say, of course the water is wet [and], of course, there are fish in the water.

Equally interesting here, however, are two sets of comments that suggest that some subjects used strategies other than the *POPE Q* to arrive at the father's reassuring message to his son. The first of these two sets is found in (15).

(15) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-2 (8): Those That Mentioned a Strategy Other Than the *POPE Q* Implicature, i.e., precondition or cause > effect.

- This is a rhetorical question. It means your question is not different from asking if the water is wet. Or there may be another meaning to the question: if there is water, there must be some fish. Either way, the answer is the same: there are fish.
- When Frank said, "Is the water wet?" I think that he means that if there were a lot of water, natural water, you have a lot of chance to catch a fish.
- Father say, "Is the water wet?" Definitely water is wet. The father's words contain the meaning "Water is wet, so fishes can live in the water."
- Frank thinks every wet water has fish.

In these comments, the subjects see Frank's remark to his son as an attempt to draw his attention to the water itself, on the assumption that the son will infer that where there is water, there are fish. This reasoning on the part of the subjects clearly does not involve the use of the *POPE Q* format because it is based on what the subjects see as a natural relationship between water and fish: they seem to think of water as a cause or a sufficient precondition for the presence of fish. But we have noted earlier that no such logical relationship can exist between the two questions of a *POPE Q* implicature format. From this, we can see that the subjects whose remarks are in (15) did not use the *POPE Q* to interpret Frank's response, yet they did infer the right answer. This means we can no longer say with complete certainty that those who interpreted a particular item correctly on the multiple choice test had used the intended implicature. In fact, in the first comment quoted in (15), the subject specifically mentions using two different strategies as ways of understanding what Frank meant, i.e., the *POPE Q* format and the natural relationship of water and fish.

So we now have evidence of two distinct and reasoned strategies by which subjects interpreted Frank's question, the *POPE Q* implicature and reference to a natural relationship between water and fish. Unfortunately, when this happens, it makes it obvious that we cannot assume that subjects can derive the correct answer to a *POPE Q* test item if and only if they use the *POPE Q* implicature itself. And so, we cannot be sure what strategy those subjects used who offer no explanation for their correct choices. The comments of two such subjects are in (16) and are, of course, placed in Subgroup A-3, Assertions.

(16) Sample Comments from Subgrp A-3 (13): Assertions of the Implicature Meaning without Supporting Explanation

- I think when the father said, "Is the water wet, Ricky?", he is trying to say that, of course, there are always fish.
- Because he want to imply that it is obvious there are fish in that area.

And there was still another strategy used by some of the NNS to derive the appropriate meaning of Frank's question. This strategy is the same one that we discussed earlier in relation the subjects who thought that Kate had real doubts about the sun's coming up in the east. It amounts to relying heavily on a context so clearly defined that no matter what the speaker says, it can only mean one thing. In this particular situation, the four subjects who employed this strategy noted that since Frank wants to continue fishing, and since he will not be able to if Ricky is not convinced that there are fish to catch, whatever Frank says will be designed to convince Ricky that there are fish nearby. In the words of one of them, "I chose (b) because Frank try to make his friend patient." Or as another subject put it, "The father should simply answer, 'There are fish in this pond,' because the father would like to continue fishing."[4]

So far we have noted that many of the subjects did use the intended implicatures to work out their responses to the test items being discussed here. Others were able to understand the meaning of the dialogue through other strategies. And, of course, we have found some who used still other strategies that led them to interpret the utterances in the test items quite differently. For example, in this case, one subject declared Frank's question to be totally irrelevant to the conversation; Frank, he said, was simply "trying to change the topic." Such responses were considered "wrong," as we indicated earlier, because the understanding they represent differs from the norm established by the American control group: 100 percent of the NS understood Frank to be implying the presence of fish.

Another item for which subjects followed more than one path to the intended message was that found in (17). Here 16 of 18 subjects correctly inferred that Rob's question, "Is the sky green?", indicated that Rob did not trust the people to whom he had lost money at cards the night before. However, of those 16 who interpreted Rob's comment correctly, only the 8 whose remarks appear in (18) explained their choice in such a way that it was clear that they had used the *POPE Q* implicature.

(17) Randy and Rob are talking about some friends they play cards with.

Rob: I really lost money in that card game last night. I don't think I'll play with those guys again.

Randy: Yeah, they sure were good weren't they?

Rob: Good? You mean they were awfully lucky, don't you?

Randy: Lucky? What's the matter? Don't you trust them?

Rob: Is the sky green?

What is the meaning of Rob's last question?

a> I lost so much money I feel sick all over.

b> No, I don't trust those guys. I'm sure they cheated.

c> I'm so upset by the way those guys played that I can't even see right. The sky actually looks green to me.

d> Let's change the subject. Doesn't that sky look awfully strange to you?

(18) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1 (17): Those that Indicate a Grasp of Implicature and the *POPE Q* format in (17).

- "Is the sky green?" mean the sky is not green; sky always blue. So she didn't trust them.
- Rob's final answer is "Is the sky green?" It is in question form. It means "Your question is not different from asking if the sky is green." It is very obvious.
- Because the sky is blue, it means I can't trust them. Usually you do say the sky is blue.
- Because when they asked him, he answered "Is the sky green?" The answer is "No." And <b> is "No, I don't trust those guys. I'm sure they cheated."
- When he asked them, "What's the matter? Don't you trust them?" and Robert answered with "Is the sky green?" it means "Of course the sky is not green, so of course I don't trust them."
- The only and the main sentence my answer depends on is "Is the sky green?" All know that the sky isn't green. So he certainly doesn't trust those guys.

- Sky is usually blue, but she says sky is green. It is impossible for him to trust....
- The last sentence, "Is the sky green?" means, I think,.. the sky is always blue. But the word green means land. But the sky will never be land, so "Is the sky green?" means there's no....I will never... will never...never trust them, it means, I think.

All of these comments are straightforward and indicate clearly that the subjects responsible for them do understand how the *POPE Q* implicature works with regard to this item. To be included in this group, a comment had to refer to Rob's question, "Is the sky green?", take note of the fact that the answer to that question is "No," and infer from that that Rob was trying to say "No, I don't trust them."[5]

As we have already mentioned, the eight subjects whose comments are listed in (18) are not the only ones that understood that Rob did not trust the other card players. There were, of course, those who simply asserted what they thought Rob meant without justifying their choice. The two comments in this category are given in (19).

(19) Sample NNS Comments Subgrp A-3 (17): Assertions of the Intended Implicature Meaning without Explicit Support.

- Here Randy didn't trust the guys he played. I don't know. The idea of the sky green you don't trust somebody.
- When Rob said, "Is the sky green?" I think he meant he was very sure that those other guys were cheating.

Much more interesting than these assertions, however, were the comments of five other subjects, all of whom arrived at the expected answer through strategies other than the *POPE Q* implicature. These, of course, all belong in Subgrp A-2 of the comments related to this item. One such strategy paraphrases Rob as citing an essentially impossible precondition for trusting the other card players (20).

(20) When the sky *is* green, I'll trust those guys.

To arrive at this paraphrase, the subject has used implicature: realizing that Rob's question was not to be taken at face value, this subject interpreted it as expressing an impossible precondition which must be met in order for Rob to trust the other card players. The message this subject sees Rob sending is the expected one, i.e., that he does not trust them, and the strategy by which he derived that message is very close to that of the *POPE Q* implicature. But it is not quite the same. As we noted earlier, paraphrases like that in (20) can not be derived through the *POPE Q* implicature because it gives Rob's question a logical relationship to the one to which it is a response, something that the second question of a *POPE Q* implicature does not do (cf. (6) above). Equally important, we have seen that the *POPE Q* implicature can be used to imply either "Yes" or "No," depending on what the answer to the second question is. If we interpret the second question to be a precondition, as in the paraphrase in (20), then that question can signal only "no." As a result, while the overall impact of (20) is much the same as Rob's question in (17), the two do not represent the same communicative strategy. The subject who paraphrased (17) using (20), then, has derived Rob's message effectively, but not through the *POPE Q* implicature.

Another strategy leading to the answer expected for this item, given in (21), was to take Rob's question seriously and to infer that he would not ask whether the sky seemed green if it did not seem so to him. At the same time, the subjects noted the strangeness of the situation and inferred that Rob was saying that he found the behavior of the card players equally strange and could not trust them.

(21) Sample Comments from subgrp A-2 (17): Those Explicitly Mentioning a Rationale Other Than *POPE Q* (i.e., Equating the Strangeness of a Green Sky with the Strangeness of the Friends' Card Playing)

- Sky is usually blue. But she say sky is green. It is impossible for him to trust.
- This phrase ["Is the sky green?"] means that there is something suspicious, something fishy, and also the other statement shows that he doesn't trust

Still another strategy that played a role in leading some of these NNS subjects to their answers was their analysis of contextual clues. The use of contextual clues could, of course, be considered a set of strategies rather than a single one, since the nature of the individual clues themselves vary. Some consist of events that occur (e.g., "I lost money") and their presumed impact on the characters (Rob didn't seem to like...). There are also comments by the characters themselves (e.g., "I don't think I play with those guys any more), as well as reaction of one character to another (Rob said, "They are awfully lucky," and Randy felt something wrong with that answer). The comments based on these contextual clues, as well as others, are included in (22). As has happened in relation to other test items discussed in this paper, those subjects giving these context-based explanations did correctly infer the meaning of Rob's question from its interaction with the context in which it occurred, and so they did effectively employ implicature in various forms, though not the *POPE Q* format.

(22) Sample Comments from Subgrp A-2 (17): Those Mentioning a Rationale Other Than POPE Q (*i.e., Context Clues*)

- Here, I consider from the [*unintelligible word*] and from the composition. I lost money. I don't think I play with those guys any more.
- Well, I didn't quite understand this question either. And I guess that because Rob didn't seem [to] like that he lost some money in that card game, and he sound like he thinks it isn't fair. He thought some guys cheated him.
- Rob lost money card game and also his statements show that he doesn't think that all players were acting correctly; there was something wrong with the play. And he believes that "I don't think I'll play with those guys again."
- From the dialogue, I can see that Rob doesn't like the people played with him because he said, "They are awful lucky!" And so, Randy felt something wrong with his answer. When he asked, "What's the matter? Don't you trust them?" Rob answered "Is the sky green?"

What we have found in relation to this last item is that, in addition to the *POPE Q* implicature, at least three other strategies involving other implicatures led subjects to interpret *"Is the sky Green?"* as meaning that Rob doesn't trust the other card players. These strategies were 1) interpreting his question as establishing an impossible precondition; 2) metaphorically equating the strangeness of a green sky with the quality of the friends' card playing; and 3) using contextual elements from the dialogue itself as clues. What's more, just as we have noted in relation to other test items, some of the subjects here clearly mentioned having used more than one type of strategy in deriving their answers. Because of the complexity of the comments containing more than one strategy, they were divided into segments, with the different strategies discussed separately, But an example of one such multi-faceted comment is given in (23).

(23) It's clear Rob lost money in card game and also his statements shows that he doesn't think that all players acting correctly; there was something wrong with the play. And he believes that "I don't think I will play with those guys again." And also, I guess I don't have to mention about this, the only and the main sentence that my answer depends is "Is the sky green?" All know

> that the sky isn't green. So he certainly doesn't trust those guys. In common knowledge is that the sky is blue, I guess; am I right? And this phrase means that there is something suspicious, something fishy, and also the other statement or Rob shows that he doesn't trust these guys.

The Manner Maxim: The Time-Sequence Implicature.

Not all the items covered in the interviews and on the multiple choice implicature tests have such a complex pattern of subject responses as that which we have found with the *POPE Q* items. There were sets of items based on other implicatures for which the only path to an appropriate interpretation was through the intended implicature itself. One such set of items for which this was true was based on Grice's Maxim of Manner. Levinson (1983) notes that "perhaps the most important of the sub-maxims of Manner is the fourth, 'be orderly,'" which captures "our expectation that events are recounted in the order in which they happened" (p. 108). It is this expectation that leads us to surmise from (24-a) that Jack shopped in Chicago, but from (24-b) that he shopped somewhere else before going there.

(24-a) Jack went to Chicago and did some shopping.

(24-b) Jack did some shopping and went to Chicago.

The implicature underlying (24) is the one around which the test item in (25) was built. In it Maria and Tony each say that Sandy has done two things: they both say that Sandy stole a car and that he went to Boston. Their accounts differ, however, in the order in which they relate the events. The subjects are then told that the actual car theft occurred in Philadelphia and asked which of the two versions of the story, Maria's or Tony's, is more accurate.

(25) Three friends from Lexington, a suburb of Boston, had dinner together at a local steak house. After they left the restaurant, one of them left the other two and ultimately found himself in trouble. Now it is the next day and the other two friends are talking about what happened the night before.

Maria: Hey, did you hear what Sandy did after he left us last night? He went into Boston and stole a car.

Tony: I don't think that's quite right. He stole the car and went to Boston.

Maria: Are you sure? That's not the way I heard it.

What actually happened was that Sandy stole the car in Boston itself. Which of the friends has the right story then?

a> Maria.

b> Tony.

c> Both are right, since they are both saying much the same thing; there is really nothing to argue about.

d> Neither one told enough of the story. We can't tell which one is right.

Of the 13 subjects answering this question, 9 correctly indicated that Maria had the facts straight. The comments of the other four subjects during their interviews indicated clearly that they did not realize that the order of events in narratives such as this can be assumed to parallel the order in which they happened "wherever features of the context do not actually block them" (Levinson, 1983, p. 108). All four subjects chose <c> because, as one of them indicated, "Both of them [Tony and Maria] are right. Just the order is different." Or, as another said, "Whether they say it the way Tony does or Maria does makes no difference. They are just kidding." This item does seem to be one that subjects answer correctly if and only if they use what we might call the Time-Sequence implicature.

The Quantity Maxim: The Minimum Requirement Rule (MRR)

Another type of implicature that subjects were asked to interpret, both in the original study (Bouton, 1988) and in the study reported on here, was based on a special case under Grice's Quantity Maxim, i.e., that participants are expected to be sufficiently informative, as discussed by Levinson (1983). Levinson notes that if a farmer is asked how many cows he has and responds "Twenty," then it can be inferred that he does not have more than that. If he did, his answer would not have provided the questioner with the information that he or she had asked for. But, says Levinson, suppose that the farmer is not being asked how large his entire herd is, but rather whether he has enough cows (say 10, for instance) to meet the minimum requirement for some sort of dairy subsidy payment. Suppose also that both the questioner and the farmer are aware of why the question is being asked. Under these circumstances, if the farmer replies "I've got 10" to the same question, we cannot assume that he has only 10 cows. The reason for this difference, says Levinson, is that "it is clear from the context that all the information that is required is whether John's herd passes the threshold for the subsidy system, not the exact number of cows he might in fact have." In other words, by telling his interrogator that he has 10 cows, he is providing sufficient information to meet the other person's needs and so he is complying with Grice's Quantity Maxim (pp. 115-16). For the rest of this paper, we will refer to this special application of Grice's Maxim as the Minimum Requirement Rule, which we will abbreviate MRR.

Several different items were prepared to test whether the subjects in the studies discussed here would follow the MRR where appropriate, or whether they would use the more general interpretation of the Quality Maxim. All of these items established a context in which a certain minimum requirement was delineated, and one or more of the characters in the dialogue were asked if they met that requirement, e.g., a bartender asks a man and woman if they are 18, presumably the minimum drinking age, when they order a beer. To this question, the characters always respond affirmatively. The subjects were then asked to decide which of four choices best captured what that affirmative answer meant. One such item is in (26).

(26) One afternoon Ted and Sharon went into a campus bar to have a beer and the following conversation took place.

Ted: Can we have a couple of Lite beers, please? Sharon: Make mine a Stroh's Light, will you?

Bartender: I don't know. Are you two 18?

Ted: Yeah, we are. Now can we have our beers?

Assuming that Ted was telling the truth, what does the bartender know about how old Ted and Sharon are?

a> That Ted and Sharon are both 18 -- no more, no less.

b> That Ted and Sharon are both at least 18.

c> That Ted and Sharon are the same age.

d> There is no way for the bartender to know which of these Ted means based on what he said.

Of the 13 NNS subjects answering this question, 10 correctly chose <b> and indicated during the interviews that they had taken the MRR into consideration in interpreting Ted's response to the bartender. Some of the comments of these 10 subjects are given in (27) and show that they realize that people must be at least a certain minimum age in the United States if they are going to be able to buy beer. They also realize that the bartender is not asking for the exact age of Ted and Sharon, but rather whether they are old enough to buy beer legally, i.e., 18 or more. And they point out that Ted's answer should be taken in that light. They clearly have used the MRR in arriving at their understanding of Ted's response to the bartender.

(27) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1 (26): Those That Clearly Indicate a Grasp of the MRR.

- To be able to drink, someone must be over 18, and bartender is trying to learn and they are say to him for this rule, and they answered -- automatic -- they must be over -- at least 18.
- "Yes, we are 18" means that we can drink beer. So at least 18.
- "Because if someone asked you if you are 18 at a bar, you say "Yes" or "No." If you are under 18, you say "No," but if you are above 18, you say "Yes."
- "Now can we have our beers?" means they are older than 18 years, so they can have a right to drink beer. They are not child.
- "It was difficult to answer [26], because Bartender says, "Are you 18?" This has various meanings included, I think. So <a> and <b>, just 18 or at least 18 -- I couldn't decide. But I thought common sense about records must have worked here. So bartender knows 18 years old is the minimum age for drinking liquor, and so do they; and so I chose <b>

Of the three comments by subjects who interpreted Ted's remark differently from what was expected, two were confused and thought the question was asking them to interpret what the bartender said. One, for example, assumed that Ted and Sharon must look very young, or the bartender would not have asked their age at all; this subject was apparently unaware of the standard practice at many bars where young people congregate. The other subject also thought Ted and Sharon must be young, but in this case, the subject interpreted the bartender's question as a hesitation strategy caused by the fact that they looked as if they might be underage. Neither of these subjects based their answer on what Ted said at all; neither seemed to recognize the routine represented by the dialogue, nor did they seem aware of the relevance of Ted's remark to the overall conversation. What they fail to take into account is that even if they do look young, even if they really are only 18, that is not what a bartender who must decide whether to serve beer to particular customers wants to know, and it is not what Ted is telling him. Clearly, neither subject was using the MRR.5

Another test item involving the MRR also proved easy for most subjects. This one involved two students, Fred and Molly, who are classmates in a chemistry course and who are trying to figure out whether they have an A in the course at the moment. Fred tells Molly that so far 236 points equals an A, and asks, "Do you have 236 points, Molly?" "Yes I do," comes the reply, and much as in the item in (22), the subjects are then asked how many points Molly has so far: about 236 points, at least 236, or exactly 236 -- or whether, perhaps, we do not have enough information to distinguish among these three possibilities. On the basis of the MRR, we would expect the subjects to understand Molly as saying that she had at least 236 points, i.e., that she had met the requirement for an A -- not that she had precisely 236 points. 16 of the 20 subjects answering this question understood Molly in just that way. Of those, 6 simply asserted that that is what Molly meant, but 10 made it clear during their interview that they had used reasoning which amounted to the MRR in deriving Molly's message. A sample of these explanations is found in (28). No other strategies were used by those arriving at an appropriate answer to this item.

(28) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1: Those that Indicate Explicitly That They Used the MRR.

- To get the lowest A, you have to have at least 236 points. Yes, she has the points, perhaps at least 236 points. So she have 236 points or more, I think so.
- It is difficult to explain. But this person have confidence in getting A grade. It mean at least 236 points.
- I choose <a>, "at least 236 points," because in this context, the requirement for A is more than 236.
- When Molly answered, "Yeah, I do," she answered with security. She had enough points to get A.
- When the required score is 236, and when anybody asks you if you have it and you answer, "I have it, I do," generally you mean at least you have this score, at least. Probably you have more than this score.

Of the 4 comments that do not embody the expected answer to this item, the two that are of interest ignore the MRR and interpret Molly's remark as a straightforward example of the Quantity Maxim, i.e., a full disclosure.[6] For instance, one comment notes, "Fred asks Molly and Molly says 'I have 236 points,' so it must be exactly because she says 'Yes, I do.'" What this subject has done is to interpret Fred's question as a request for the exact number of points that Molly has accumulated at the moment. If one misunderstands the interaction between Fred and Molly in this way, the inference to be drawn from her remark is, of course, the one the subject drew -- that she has 236 points -- no more, no less.

Both of these two preceding MRR items proved easy for most of the NNS subjects, and both were accurate measures of whether subjects used the MRR in interpreting the item: those that did use it chose the right answer; those that did not use it chose a distractor. However, there were other items built around the MRR that proved more difficult and, in some sense, more complex. The first of these is that in (29).

(29) Rafael wants to be admitted to the Okala Institute of Engineering. He has gone there to find out what requirements he must meet to get in. The following is part of his conversation with an admissions officer.

Adm. Officer: Well, Rafael, you have to finish high school before you come here. When do you graduate?

Rafael: I graduated last June.

Adm. Officer: And another thing, in order to come here, you have to have an 88 average for your high school years. Are you okay there?

Rafael: Yes, I have an 88 average.

Adm. Officer: Well, then, if you can have your records sent here and have three adults write letters of recommendation for you, you should be able to be admitted without any trouble.

From what Rafael said, what does the admissions officer know about his average?

a> His average was 88 -- or perhaps slightly lower.

b> His average was 88 -- no higher, no lower.

c> His average was 88 -- or perhaps even higher.

d> We have no way of knowing which of these is most accurate on the basis of what Rafael said.

Of the 19 subjects answering this question, only 11 chose the expected interpretation <c>. Of those 11, 8 make it clear in their comments that they had used the MRR in arriving at their conclusions, and the other three simply paraphrased the answer they had chosen on the test itself. On the other hand, none of the 8 whose comments show that they did not use the MRR interpreted Rafael correctly. 5 of them thought Rafael meant that his average was exactly 88; and 3 were unable to decide what he meant. In other words, even though this item proved quite difficult, it did seem to distinguish those subjects who used the MRR implicature from those that did not: for one thing, although three of the subjects who arrived at the right message failed to explain how they did it, there is no evidence that anyone answering the item correctly used a strategy to do so that conflicts with the MRR; and, at the same time, anyone who used the MRR answered the question correctly. The comments by the 8 who explained clearly that they had derived their answers through implicatures based on the MRR are sampled in (30); comments by those who followed the more general Quantity Maxim to the wrong conclusion are in (31).

(30) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1 (29): Those That Clearly Indicate a Grasp of the MRR.

- The officer asked if Rafael had at least an 88 average. Rafael answered "Yes, I have an 88 average" -means, I thought, that more than 88 average.
- Rafael needs at least an 88 average, so (a) can't be an answer; so (d) can't be an answer according to any one is possible. If he earned an average over 88, then he can say "Yes, I have an 88 average." But if he doesn't have an 88 average, lower than 88, he can't say. And it says "perhaps." So because of *perhaps*, I chose <c>.
- Rafael says he has 88 average. This is an answer to the admissions official's question. And the admissions official asked if he had an 88 average for the requirement. And Rafael's answer means just he meets this requirement.
- When anybody asks you if you have a required score, here 88, and you say "Yes," generally you mean you have at least that.
- To get the lowest A, have at least 236 points. Yes, she has the points, perhaps at least 236 points. So she have 236 points, or more. I think so.

(31) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp B-2 (29): Those Indicating Use of the More General Quantity Maxim Rather Than the MRR, i.e., Those Seeing 88 As Rafael's Exact Average.

- Because Rafael said "I have an 88 average." Not above that; he didn't say that. So I thought that 88 was his average.
- The answer was his average was 88 or his average wasn't. So I chose 88 means average score and then I chose only 88.
- I chose <b>. When the admissions officer asked her, "And another thing -- in order to come here, you have to have an 88 average for your high school years, are you okay there?" "Yes, I have an 88 average," so exactly she has that.
- My answer is <b> because it is said that Rafael said, "Yes I have an 88 average." So it all clear for me.

There seems to be little essential difference in the situations requiring the use of the MRR in the last three problems. All of them involve a response to a question as to whether the speaker has met a minimum standard. Because of this similarity, it is difficult to understand why the NNS were so much more successful in interpreting the first two responses than they were with this last one. The difference does establish an important fact that should be considered both when investigating the interpretation of implicature and when determining how NNS should be instructed in the use of implicature in the second language: it is not necessarily true that a person who can see the need for a given type of implicature, e.g., the *POPE Q* or the MRR, and can use it effectively in one context can do the same in others. Some of the same subjects who implemented the MRR in the two preceding problems could not do so here.

The last item built around the MRR that we will take up here is given in (32) and it also proved somewhat difficult. Only 14 of the 20 subjects answering (32) selected the appropriate choice <a>.

> (32) Sally and Rachel are going to the movie. When they get up to the window, Rachel has trouble finding the $3.50 for her ticket. People in the line behind them are beginning to get annoyed because she is taking too much time. Finally, the woman at the ticket window speaks to her.
>
> Ticket Seller: Look. Do you have the $3.50 with you?
>
> Rachel: Yes, I do.

Which of the following says best what Rachel means?

a> She has at least $3.50 -- maybe more.

b> She has exactly $3.50.

c> She has about $3.50 -- more or less.

d> We can't tell which she means from what she says.

But this problem is particularly interesting because of the comments that these subjects made when asked why they interpreted Rachel's remark to the ticket seller as they did. As we will see below, all 14 of those who answered this item correctly had to have used the MRR; they could not have arrived rationally at the answer they did without using it. Yet only 2 of the 14, whose comments are given in (33), showed any explicit awareness of the role the MRR played in their solution to this problem. The rest said nothing that would suggest their use of the MRR in any way.

> (33) Sample NNS Comments from Subgrp A-1 (29): Those Indicating Explicitly That They Used the MRR.
>
> - This item is the same as #13 and #8 [item numbers on the test itself]. She meet again a requirement, but she may have more money. Also, <c> is unlogical, that she has $3.50 more or less, because if someone is not sure that she has enough money to go to the movie, she would not go. Since she is there, she must be sure that she has enough money.
> - The seller wants to buy another ticket, so the seller asks her if she has enough money to buy the ticket or not.

There can be no doubt that the first of these two explanations is based squarely on the use of the MRR, and the second is included in this set because of its use of the word enough, which suggests that the subject understood both the ticket taker's question and Rachel's response in terms of whether she had at least the price of the ticket in her purse.

Of the other 12 who understood Rachel's "Yes I do" appropriately, only 4 offered any explanation at all for their choice; the rest simply restated the answer they gave on the test in some way. The 4 who did explain their choice gave reasons that were compatible with the MRR but were based instead on elements of the context in which Rachel's comment was made. Two derived their interpretation from knowing how much they themselves would take when setting out to buy something. They said they always take enough money for what they plan to buy, maybe more. The other two argue that the mere fact that Rachel continues to look for the money means that "she is sure that there is more than $3.50," that "if she thinks she doesn't have [enough money], and a lot of people are waiting, she would probably leave, she won't stay there any longer."

Of all the items discussed in this paper, this is the only one in which the subjects took so much for granted and offered so little to explain why they thought as they did. Why this is so is a matter for speculation; no clue surfaced from any of the subjects' explanatory comments. But one thing is certain: no matter what explanation a subject might have given for why he or she understood Rachel to be saying that she did have at least the $3.50 for the ticket with her, that subject had to have used the MRR, consciously or unconsciously, at some point. Otherwise they would have to have understood Rachel's comment differently. This is easy to demonstrate.

First, the literal meaning of Rachel's response is simply that she has $3.50 with her; it says nothing about whether she does or does not have more than that. Therefore, whether we interpret her utterance to mean that she has just $3.50 and no more, or that she has at least $3.50, we have arrived at that message partially through inference. If we interpret Rachel as saying that $3.50 is all that she has, we have assumed that she has followed the general Quantity Maxim, which would lead her to disclose the total amount of money she has brought with her. On the other hand, if we assume that she is mentioning only that portion of her funds that constitutes the minimum amount required to buy a ticket, then we have made use of the special case of the Quantity Maxim that we have called the MRR. And unless we do use the MRR, we can not interpret Rachel's comment as suggesting that she does have more than $3.50 with her. It seems, then, that we can say that subjects choosing the right answer for items such as (32) have used the MRR at some point during the inferential process.

But what about those who did not select the answer they were expected to? Could they have used the MRR in arriving at their answers as well? The answer is that they could not have. First, we have already seen that if someone understood Rachel to say that she had "exactly $3.50" (distractor <b>), that person would be using the more general full disclosure application of the Quantity Maxim rather than the MRR as a guideline. Nor could the MRR lead us to interpret comments like Rachel's as meaning that she had "about $3.50 -- more or less" (distractor <c>). If we understand Rachel to be following the MRR, then what we assume that she is telling us is that she is able to meet some specific minimum requirement -- in this case, she has the $3.50 to buy a movie ticket. This, of course, is incompatible with an implied message that she has about $3.50, more or less. And as for those who found it impossible to tell which of the first three messages was intended by Rachel and who chose <d>, what we have just said shows that they could not have been guided by the MRR either. And so we can see that even though most of the subjects who interpreted Rachel's response to the ticket seller appropriately failed to mention the MRR in their comments during the interview, they must have used it in arriving at their understanding of what she meant; what's more, those who failed to arrive at that understanding did not use it. Just as with the preceding three MRR questions, this one distinguishes successfully between those subjects that used that implicature in interpreting what Rachel said and those that did not. But at the same time, the fact that so many of those who understood Rachel correctly failed to mention the MRR in their comments is troublesome. It indicates that subjects cannot always be counted on to give a complete description of the strategy they used to interpret an item.

The data for the series of items based on the MRR implicature are found in Table 2. Note that the number in Subgroup A-1 reflects the number of subjects clearly indicating during their interviews that they had used the MRR in arriving at their interpretation of the utterance in question -- not the number that did in fact use the MRR, consciously or unconsciously. This explains why the numbers in Group A (those answering the question correctly) and those in Subgroup A-1 are not the same, even though we found that anyone answering the items based on the MRR successfully did, in fact, use the MRR in the process.

Table 2: Classification of Data from Four MRR Implicature Items

MRR ITEM:	18 yr. old	236 points	88 average	$3.50 ticket
No. of SUBJ.	13	20	19	20
GROUP A:	10	16	11	14
Subgrp 1:	10	10	8	2
Subgrp 2:	0	0	0	4
Subgrp 3:	0	6	3	8
Subgrp 4:	0	0	0	0

Group A: THOSE CHOOSING THE "Right" ANSWER.

Subgrp 1: Those comments clearly indicating a grasp of the MRR.
Subgrp 2: Those explicitly mentioning a strategy other than the MRR.
Subgrp 3: Those merely asserting their answer without explicit evidence.
Subgrp 4: Those comments that are somewhat confused.

Group B:	3	4	8	6
Subgrp 1:	0	0	0	0
Subgrp 2:	1	2	4	1
Subgrp 3:	0	0	2	2
Subgrp 4:	2	2	2	3

Group B: THOSE CHOOSING THE "Wrong" ANSWER.

Subgrps 1 through 4 as above.

Strengths/Limitations of the Multiple Choice Test + Posttest Interview

In this paper we have tried to evaluate the multiple choice test as a means of determining the ability of NNS to interpret implicatures in English as NS do. It seems obvious that the multiple choice test can determine who gets the message that the implicature conveys, but how they get it is not so easy to discover in some cases. In our efforts to get at this information, we have used the multiple choice test in combination with a posttest interview, we have come up with a mixed review. On the one hand, we have found no instance in which a subject used the appropriate implicature and failed to derive the intended message from the utterance around which an item was built. In the case of those items based on the MRR, we established that to arrive at the message without including that implicature as a component of the interpretation process was not feasible. With the *POPE Q* and the Time-Sequence items, all explanations given by those who derived the wrong message were incompatible with those two implicatures. It would seem, then, that for all items we investigated here, if subjects used the implicature around which an item was built, then they arrived at the intended message. There were no counter examples to that claim.

But can we make the stronger claim that we made at the beginning of this paper? Can subjects derive an item's intended message and answer the item correctly IF AND ONLY IF they use the intended implicature? The answer to this question is not so clear and seems to depend to some extent on which implicature a test item focuses on. In the case of the MRR and the Time-Sequence implicatures, for example, it the answer seems to be "Yes": subjects who answered those items correctly had used the appropriate implicature and those who did not had not.

In the case of two items based on the *POPE Q* implicature, on the other hand, approximately 35 percent of those answering the items correctly did so using a strategy other than the *POPE Q* implicature itself. At the same time, another 13 percent gave no explanation at all for their answer, so that we don't know what strategy they used. This means that almost half of the subjects answering this question could easily have derived the intended message by a strategy other than the *POPE Q* implicature. For the four *POPE Q* questions taken together, these figures are slightly lower, with 20 percent of those answering the item correctly clearly indicating that they did not use the *POPE Q* implicature, and another 14 percent giving no indication of what strategy they used. Obviously for *POPE Q* questions, the stronger claim does not hold: it cannot be said that subjects derived the expected message on these items if and only if they used the intended implicature.[7]

Of course, we had suspected that this might be so for the items based on at least some of the implicatures. It was for that reason that we included the posttest interviews in this study, and it was through those interviews that we made several important discoveries. First, we were able to confirm that subjects using the intended implicature derived the expected message. Second, in the case of the Time-Sequence implicature, it was the interviews that made clear that only subjects who saw the relationship between textual order and narrative order, i.e., those that were guided by the Time-Sequence implicature, understood the difference between Maria's message and Tony's. And third, it was through the interviews that we discovered the other strategies that subjects used to reach both correct and incorrect interpretations of the items in question. The fact that subjects are not always aware of how they interpret what others say means that we cannot be sure that they did not use a particular strategy just because they did not mention it during the interview and, for this reason, we cannot take the interview results as a complete picture of how every subject interpreted each item. Interviews can tell us what strategies subjects have used, but they cannot tell us what strategies subjects have not used without further corroborating evidence, perhaps, for example, by showing that the strategies that are mentioned are incompatible with the ones that the subjects were intended to use. But one thing that we can say for certain is that through the interviews we have found out several important things about how subjects interpret *conversational implicatures* that we could not have discovered through the multiple choice format alone.

COMPARING THE MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST + POSTTEST INTERVIEW WITH THE OPEN ENDED QUESTION AS A TOOL FOR EVALUATING ABILITY TO INTERPRET IMPLICATURES

Now we turn to an important question with which we began this paper. Does the multiple choice test, by itself or in combination with the interviews, solve any of the problems that we found in open ended items like the one we analyzed earlier (cf. (2))? To answer this question, we now look at the multiple choice format (35) for the same item we dealt with as an open ended question in (2) and review the comments made by the subjects during the interviews as to why they answered (35) as they did. The situation, you will recall, involved two teachers discussing a term paper by one of their students.

(35) Two teacher's are talking about a student's paper.

Mr. Ranger: Have you read Mark's paper on modern pirates yet?
Mr. Ryan: Yes, I read it last night.
Mr. Ranger: What did you think of it?
Mr. Ryan: I thought it was well typed.

How did Mr. Ryan like Mark's term paper?

a> He liked the paper; he thought it was good.
b> He thought it was certainly well typed.
c> He thought it was a good paper; he liked the form, but not the content.
d> He didn't like it.

As you will remember, a primary weakness of the open ended version of this question was the inherent difficulty faced by anyone trying to determine exactly what the subjects thought Ryan's remark meant. The problem was that the subject's answers themselves could often be read either literally or as involving the same implicatures as Ryan's comment and there was too little context provided by the subjects to permit an investigator to know which reading they had intended.[8] Whether or not the investigator believed a particular subject to have understood the implicature in the test item depended upon an often arbitrary decision as to whether to interpret that subject's response literally or not. The result was, we noted, that the investigator and not the subject often determined what meaning would be assigned to a particular subject's answer.

The question before us, then, is whether the difficulty we faced in using open ended questions to determine the ability of subjects to interpret implicatures is diminished to any extent by the use of a multiple choice instrument, with or without the post test interview. The answer, I think, is "Yes." To see why, consider a sample of the various comments made during their interviews by the subjects in this study with regard to the problem posed in (35). These comments are separated into two sets for this discussion. Those in (36) indicate explicitly that Ryan did not like the paper; the phrases explicitly signaling the subjects understanding of Ryan's comment are in italics. The comments in (37) are less clear.

(36) Sample NNS Comments Clearly Indicating That They Interpreted Ryan's Remark as Ironic Criticism of the Paper.

- Mr. Ryan thought it was well typed, but he didn't mention the other things about the paper content or something else. And in paper is most important the paper's content, not the type. *So probably he think the paper content is not very good, but he avoids to mention it.* He just mention the good things.
- He didn't say anything about his paper. He just said it was well typed. *It means very bad.*
- When anyone is asking your opinion about an article, and you make a comment about the typing, so the professor is making a joke, and so in my opinion, *his words denote something he doesn't like.*
- Mr. Ryan praised only the form. He said nothing about the content, *so he didn't like it.*

(37) Sample NNS Comments Less Clear as to their Interpretation Concerning Ryan's Evaluation of the Student's Paper.

- Mr. Ryan's answer showed me he like Mark's term paper, but just the form, not the content.
- If Ryan had thought it was a very good paper, he would have said "I like it a lot." But he only referred to the form. The content didn't impress him.
- Mr. Ryan says, "Well, I thought it was well typed." He didn't mention the content. The type is well, but the content maybe not.
- The comment is only about the typing, so it is a little cynical, I think.
- It is also a kind of irony. Mr. Ryan say "well typed"; he didn't comment about the quality of the paper.
- I think the professor expresses sarcastically because he didn't mention at all the content. He mentions only the type.

Treat these comments for the moment as if they were the result of an open ended questionnaire, instead of coming as they did from interviews associated with a multiple choice test. How would we evaluate them? Which would we interpret as conveying an overall negative evaluation of the student's term paper? There would certainly be no problem interpreting the first set of comments (36); they seem clear enough. But what about the set in (37)? They seem more difficult to evaluate. All of the subjects making these comments inferred from Ryan's failure to comment on the content of the paper that he seemed to like only the form, but did they also realize that he was using implicature to suggest that the paper as a whole was not particularly good? Or did they take his apparent praise of the typing literally -- as meaning that the paper had some good points and some bad points? Without more information, it is difficult to tell.

This, of course, is where the multiple choice test helps out. Whichever choice the subject made on the test provides us with a perspective from which to view the comments that we hear during the interview. In (37), for instance, the last three comments seem rather similar and it would be hard to guess whether or not they were all explanations of the same choice. From their answers to the multiple choice test, however, it turns out that the subjects making the last two comments thought that Ryan did not like the paper, but the one making the third from the last comment failed to draw any such overall conclusion and saw Ryan as simply liking the form but not the content. From that we can see that this latter subject did not draw the implicature appropriate to Ryan's remark. And so the multiple choice test helps us to determine what message a subject has derived from the utterance in the test item in a way that would be impossible with responses to open ended questions alone. At the same time, within the limitations described above, the subject's comments explain the strategy the subject used to interpret each implicature. Each provides a base from which to consider the other, and together they give us a much richer source of information than either could supply alone.

CONCLUSION

Through this study, we have discovered that, within certain limits, the multiple choice format, both alone and in combination with a post test interview, can be an effective tool for the study of the messages different groups derive from utterances containing implicatures. The extent to which the multiple choice test is effective by itself depends on the type of implicature being studied and the information the investigator wants to uncover. Our specific conclusions can be outlined as follows:

1. A multiple choice instrument can measure the ability of a subject to derive a message conveyed by implicature, though whether it can also determine whether that subject used the intended implicature in arriving at the message depends on which type of implicature is involved.
2. Strategies mentioned during interviews are a valuable source of information on how subjects derived the message they did. There is nothing in this study that would lead us to doubt that subjects do use the strategies that they say they do, whatever others they might employ. But the failure of a subject to mention a specific strategy is not conclusive evidence that he or she did not use it. Corroborating evidence is necessary.
3. Post test interviews, in conjunction with a multiple choice instrument, can provide more insight into how subjects derive messages conveyed through implicature -- and where they go wrong at times -- than either of these or the open ended question format by themselves. The multiple choice test indicates the message the subjects have derived with more precision than either the interview or the open ended format, and the interview provides as to how they arrived at that message.

Finally, while we were attempting to determine the effectiveness of these different instruments for the investigation of implicatures, we also discovered some interesting facts about the implicatures themselves and the way people approach them. We found that subjects sometimes used several strategies at once to interpret such messages, e.g., different types of implicatures and contextual clues, especially when interpreting utterances involving the *POPE Q* implicature.

We also noted several instances in which utterances that were essentially meaningless to an NNS subject at the literal level triggered an implicature based on the reasoning that if a person were to say anything at all in such a context, what he said could only mean one thing.[9] This seems merely to be an extension of what is generally taken to be a normal implicature within Grice's theory. According to Grice, when listeners find the literal meaning of an utterance somehow inappropriate or uninterpretable in the context in which it occurs, they search for another. The subjects in this study simply carried that a step further: they sometimes heard utterances for which they could initially find no meaning at all, assuming that the mere fact that an utterance had occurred meant that it was intended to convey a message. They then drew the entire message from the context in which it was spoken.

Sometimes, then, as we study the ability of individuals to understand what others say through implicature, we may find ourselves saying, "Okay. So he got they got the message. But how did they get it?" But all in all, we have found the multiple choice test, together with post test interviews, a useful tool both for the study of what messages subjects derive from implicatures and how they derive them and for gaining insight into the nature of specific implicatures themselves.

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NOTES

[1] Note that if you disagree with my interpretation of any of these comments you make my point about the difficulty of interpreting them precisely and of agreeing on whether they capture the meaning of what they are paraphrasing.

[2] Here and elsewhere, the comments are quoted directly and without any attempt to correct the English or to mark errors with [sic].

[3] Note that if Kate's answer, as this subject understands it, were not conveyed by a *POPE Q* implicature format, it could function as an indirect response to Jake. For instance, consider the following possible dialogue:

Jake:	What do you think, Kate? Will he really give us that test? Do you think we have to stay around here til Friday?"
Kate:	Everyone leaves campus early every year for this vacation, don't they?

In this case, Kate's question is not part of a *POPE Q* format and it does provide the basis for deriving a relevant answer to Jake's question. It seems that messages derived through the *POPE Q* implicature differ from those stated directly in that they cannot themselves be the basis from which further implicatures are derived. Put differently, the answer to a *POPE Q* cannot be an indirect answer to the original question.

[4] The strategy suggested by this subject's comment has interesting ramifications. It implies that even if you could not assign a literal meaning to what Frank said, perhaps because you did not hear it clearly or because if was in a language that you were not familiar with, you might be able to derive the message simply on the basis of the conversational context and your understanding of the world. What's more, the process by which you derive that message would seem to be the same as that used to interpret any utterance violating Grice's first maxim by giving too little information. The difference is that in the case where you know only that the speaker has said something but you do not know what, you must supply all of the message from the context rather than only part of it.

[5] We might note in passing that the eighth comment on the list makes use of an interesting equation of the color green with land in arriving at the fact that the answer to Rob's question will be "No," i.e., "But the word green means land. But the sky will never be land, so...." However, having reached that answer, the subject does quite definitely proceed to use the *POPE Q* format.

[6] The third subject to arrive at the wrong answer on the multiple choice test did not explain that answer during the interview. Instead, he merely restated the choice he had made; then suddenly, without prompting, he recognized how Ted's statement should have been interpreted and changed his answer accordingly, explaining that Ted was simply stating that he and Sharon met the requirement established by the law.

[7] The difference between the MRR/Time-Sequence implicatures and the *POPE Q* that makes the multiple choice format so successful with the first two but not with the third may lie in the number of possible strategies available to the subjects in each case and the degree to which those strategies are mutually exclusive. When a person states that he has a certain number of points or cows or whatever, a listener must decide whether to interpret what is said within the parameters of the general quality maxim or within those of the MRR. What's more, the choice of one excludes the choice of the other. The same is true of the Time-Sequence items: one either recognizes the parallel between sequence in the text and sequence in time or one does not. In these cases, a multiple choice test seems able to determine whether subjects have used the intended implicature on the basis of whether they arrive at the appropriate message.

For the *POPE Q* items, on the other hand, the strategies available seem to vary with the content of the utterance and its context. Nor are some of these strategies mutually exclusive, so that a single subject may utilize two or three at the same time. As a result, the fact that subjects mentions one strategy does not obviate their having used another also. Knowing this, and being sensitive to the fact that subjects do not always mention all of the strategies that they have used, we cannot assume that someone did not use the *POPE Q* implicature on a particular item simply because they did not mention having done so during the interview.

[8] Or perhaps because of cultural and linguistic differences between the backgrounds of the subject and the investigator, clues that the subject intended to provide go unnoticed, while the investigator thinks that he or she perceives clues that are really not there from the perspective of the subject.

[9] For a discussion of a similar phenomenon among NS and NNS children see Ervin-Tripp, et al (1987). In that study, the author's attempt to determine the extent to which an awareness of the speaker's intent is necessary to motivate children age 3 to 5 to comply with a request in contexts that make the nature of the request obvious to varying degrees. The authors conclude that the more obvious the nature of the request seems on the basis of the context in which it is uttered, the less the hearer needs to rely on the actual form of the request itself. Even NS children sometimes reacted to an utterance as a request after explicitly labeling it as a question. However, the authors seem to distinguish between requests and assertations on the basis of the fact that "requests, unlike assertions, are typically situated in ongoing contexts of social relations and of activity, their form and interpretation are dependent on both." From this, it seems that they are limiting their conclusion that "interpretive models of speech acts start from the situation" and not from a literal interpretation of the linguistic stimulus to the interpretation of requests. What we have found in the work reported here suggests that such a limitation is inappropriate, since some of the NNS provided interpretations of utterance primarily on the basic on context.

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YES/NO QUESTIONS IN ESL TEXTBOOKS AND CLASSROOMS

Jessica Williams

In a survey of ESL textbooks and analysis of classroom discourse, discrepancies were found between the ways in which yes/no questions were presented and the ways in which they are used by native speakers. Native speakers use SVO order questions for specific functions as well as more generally in informal discourse. However, this question form is rarely found either in ESL textbooks or in teacher talk. This is but one example of how the language presented to classroom second language learners may be inadequate for them to form correct or complete hypotheses about language use.

A growing number of articles and studies have reported the problems created by presenting and teaching unauthentic discourse in ESL textbooks and classes (Pica 1983; Wolfson 1986; Holmes 1988; M. Williams 1988). This has become particularly important, as both teachers and textbooks aspire to help second language learners (SLLs) to function in the world outside their classrooms. Indeed the use of unauthentic language in texts may represent a blatant disservice to these students. For instance, Williams (1988) found that in almost thirty textbooks which purported to teach learners how to interact in business meetings, the language presented and taught was frequently misleading and inaccurate, when compared to the language of native speakers (NSs). Thus, some texts may be teaching students to do precisely the wrong things. The following report, however, is on a more subtle form of misguidance which is found in many ESL textbooks and deals specifically with how language which is presented in textbooks and in classrooms may lead SLLs to formulate incorrect or only partially correct hypotheses regarding language use. An abundance of confirming evidence in the classroom and in textbooks and a corresponding lack of disconfirming evidence may make it particularly difficult for learners to modify these hypotheses.

This study focuses on a small area of target discourse, on how it is presented and taught, as seen in a variety of textbooks on grammar and speaking, as well as in teacher talk. Specifically, the form and use of yes/no questions by NSs and SLLs are examined. The project grew out of a study done several years ago of SLLs' production of yes/no questions, focusing on word order and the use of do support (J. Williams to appear b). The results of that study indicate that when second language speakers form questions, they tend to maintain basic SVO order. As a result, they also tend not to use do-support, instead finding alternate means of expressing interrogation.

The formation and use of yes/no questions by comparable groups of NSs was also examined in the earlier study. Perhaps surprisingly, the vast majority of yes/no questions produced by the NS subjects were also in SVO order and did not contain do-support. In other words, if one were to write down these questions out of context, there would be no distinction between them and declarative statements. As with the SLLs, rising intonation seemed to be the most favored form of constructing questions. Such findings may be of importance in describing the input containing yes/no questions which SLLs receive. Lightbown (1980) has reported for French, and Long (1981) for English, that SVO order questions are abundant in foreigner talk, suggesting that SLLs have a large number of such questions directed at them. The results of the study of yes/no questions mentioned above indicate that in addition, NSs use a large number of SVO order questions among themselves. It appears, then, that SLLs must hear these forms constantly. How strange it must seem for any instructed SLL who has also had exposure to English outside of the classroom to find that these question forms are nowhere to be found in textbooks and only rarely in the production of their instructors.

A closer look at these uninverted questions seems in order. The term SVO, or uninverted, refers only to the question form; it tells us nothing about the function of the question. In the original study of yes/no questions, the data were divided into two categories: new information and clarification/confirmation questions. While this is by no means an exhaustive categorization of question function, it seemed to cover most of the instances in the corpus. Briefly, questions in the first category were used to elicit information which was new to the speaker, whereas questions in the second group were used to seek information about which the speaker already had, or thought he or she had, some knowledge. The first corresponds to what Kearsley (1976) has called referential questions; the second belongs to Kearsley's echoic category. This second type of question has been examined in depth by Long and Sato (1983) in classroom discourse. They divided this category into three types: comprehension checks, confirmation checks and clarification requests. Only the latter two are present to any significant extent in the present data; they are viewed together in this study.

Previous research has indicated that the lack of inversion is associated with a high supposition of an affirmative answer (Vander Brook, Schlue and Campbell 1980). This generalization should actually be extended to a high supposition of a known answer. For instance, one would assume that the known answer to the following question would be a negative one.

(1) She doesn't listen to you?

In fact, an analysis of the NS data in Williams (to appear b) points to the same generalization. The majority of these SVO questions were associated in some way with shared knowledge or information. In addition, however, there was a far smaller group, consisting of a significant number of tokens which were not confirmation or clarification questions, yet were produced in the SVO order. An example of this type of question might be

(2) You want to go swimming?

Although their surface structure is the same, questions like (2) are very different from questions like (1). In question (2), it seems likely that the operator do has been omitted. In cases other than those involving the third person singular, the main verb is uninflected as in (2), creating an ambiguity between questions of this type and confirmation/clarification type question as in (1). Indeed, the frequency with which the operator is omitted appears to vary depending on the subject of the sentence. With third person singular subjects, an s would presumably be required on the main verb if the question were an SVO order clarification question, as in (3a), enabling the listener to differentiate from an SVO order new information question with a missing operator, as in (3b).

(3a) He wants to go?
(3b) Ø He want to go?

In fact, SVO order questions on this type with third person singular subjects are rare in the data, but they do occur.

(4) He wanna get a pizza too?[1]

However, questions with other than third person singular subjects will most frequently be the locus of ambiguity. SVO question in these two categories, as exemplified by (1) and (2), made up the bulk of all the questions produced by the NSs in this sample. Over half of the questions in the entire corpus, consisting of 12 hours of speech, elicited from 12 NSs, were marked by intonation alone. Although the similarity of the SVO order clarification/confirmation questions and SVO new information questions may appear superficial; the real, functional differences between them may not be at all apparent to the learner. To them, questions such as (1) and (2) may appear identical.

These data suggest that our intuitions, which are often the basis of the speech found in ESL textbooks, may not be the most reliable indicator of what constitutes target-like use. Given this rather unexpected picture of even this small segment of target discourse, one may begin to reflect on the path which SLLs must follow in order to attain a level of NS-like use. It seems clear that the input in the world outside of the classroom provides them with abundant evidence that uninverted questions are an important part of NS production. In addition, the uninverted form is a well documented stage in the acquisition of yes/no questions. With such massive confirming evidence in the input and comparatively little disconfirming evidence, it is not surprising that these uninverted question forms are firmly lodged in the interlanguages of many untutored learners. Numerous studies of yes/no question development also attest to this (Bailey, Eisenstein and Madden 1976; Butterworth and Hatch 1978; Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann 1978; Hatch 1974; Ravem 1978; Wode 1978).

What about classroom learners, though? What kind of input and/or instruction do they receive regarding yes/no questions? In general, there are two sources from which these SLLs might learn about question formation: directly from their teachers' speech and from the textbooks they use. In a study of teacher talk, Long and Sato (1983) found that confirmation and clarification checks were less frequent in classroom discourse than in conversations between NSs and NNSs. It should be noted, however, that Long and Sato's analysis is based solely on question function, not on form. Williams (to appear a,b) demonstrates that while there is indeed an association between uninverted questions and confirmation and clarification checks, there does not appear to be a strict one-to-one correspondence. New information questions in which the initial operator is omitted occur frequently in NS speech as well. The result may be ambiguity in the input; to the learner, even this approximate form-function relationship may not be apparent.

In order to investigate further the relationship between question form and function, six intensive English classes and undergraduate composition classes were observed and recorded. Evidence from these observations is consistent with prior research positing a correspondence between SVO question form and the confirmation/clarification function (Vander Brook et al. 1980).

However some elaboration is needed. A closer examination of the data revealed that uninverted questions were rarely being used as a part of instruction. During class time, in general, questions were carefully presented in inverted form. During seven hours of observation, there were only eight instances of uninverted questions during instruction. Where they did appear more frequently, however, was in the informal interaction before the beginning of class and after class was officially over. During these periods, teachers would often ask questions of the following types. Example (5) is confirmation question, whereas (6) is analogous to (2), above.

(5) You went back afterwards?
(6) You see the Bears game last night?

Examples of this sort were virtually non-existent during the lesson itself, regardless of whether the function of the question was instructional or managerial. Questions in the following form were far more typical during the class.

(7) Have you ever been to a National Park?
(8) Did you finish yet?

Based on this kind of input, a student might well decide that it is legitimate to use uninverted question forms in informal interaction, but that it is not "good" English. Of course, this is not an unreasonable, or even a totally inaccurate hypothesis, based on the evidence, but it is incomplete. What might a student infer about the differences among the following questions if confronted with them outside of class?

(9a) Did you like it?
(9b) Ø You like it? (with rising yes/no intonation)
(9c) You liked it? (uttered with very high pitch on liked, perhaps indicating incredulity)

The first two are new information questions, while the third is a request for confirmation. Our hypothetical student might have a good chance of differentiating between the first two as formal and informal, respectively, but, based only on classroom experience, could well have some difficulty discerning the function of the last question, which is a perfectly grammatical SVO confirmation question. In other words, the students might understand a distinction based on changes in register, but what he or she learns in class would not be particularly helpful as regards the equally important differences in the function of inverted and uninverted questions.

Let us now turn to some textbooks. First, however, we might take a look at how some of the teachers' textbooks address this issue. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, p. 195) calls these SVO questions "declarative questions." Again, a distinction is made in terms of register. Quirk and Greenbaum state that they have a "rather casual tone" and compare the force of such questions to that of tag questions, where "the speaker takes the answer yes (or no) as a foregone conclusion." Thus, while the issue is at least noted, Quirk and Greenbaum give it rather scant treatment and further confound the issue of formality/informality with question function. It is not necessarily the case that confirmation/clarification questions are restricted to informal interaction. A conversation such as the following is perfectly plausible:

(10) Professor: So, as you can see, the pressure is inversely

> proportional to the volume.
> Student: Excuse me sir--the pressure is proportional to the volume?

Another popular reference grammar, The Grammar Book, (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1983, p. 107) mentions functional differences in a footnote, in particular, noting the work of Vander Brook et al. However, the footnote goes on to say that "it should be emphasized that inverted questions are the norm, i.e., the yes/no question form used by native speakers most of the time." Given the results reported here, the validity of this statement may be questioned. Other reference grammars mention the issue of SVO questions not at all (Thompson and Martinet 1986; Maclin 1987).

Students' textbooks show even less attention to variation in question function; frequently no mention is made of the use of uninverted questions. In basic grammar texts (Azar 1981; Praninskas 1975; Dart 1978) as well as in texts which profess to be more communicative or contextualized than their predecessors (Molinsky and Bliss 1981; Harris 1980; Ferreira 1981), often no reference is ever made to the confirmation/clarification function of the uninverted question. In situations where there is no new information being requested, new information questions in inverted form are regularly used. For instance, a student is presented with a picture of a woman holding an umbrella. The caption underneath reads, "Does Mrs. X have an umbrella?" This kind of situation hardly seems likely to occur. Another text shows a picture of a kitchen. In the middle of the room is a table surrounded by chairs. The question follows the inevitable pattern. "Are there any chairs in the room?" These kinds of exercises seem certain to lead the instructed learner to conclude that inverted questions must be used in all formal contexts.

The intuitions of the students who were observed as part of this study lend credence to this possibility. When asked first, whether it would be correct to use uninverted question forms and second, whether they had ever heard NSs using them, most of the students claimed that they were "bad" English and that NSs never use them. When pressed, several replied that perhaps they had heard them, but only informally, and they were really not very good English, certainly nothing that they aspired to use. It seems clear that they had not grasped that fact that there are important functional as well as register differences between these question forms.

In textbooks which present communication in context as their primary aim, and which claim to use English as NSs do, the story is not very different. Many of these texts use language function as their organizing principles: requesting, apologizing, interrupting, etc. At first look, it would seem that these kinds of books would be likely to give learners a functional explanation of why they hear so many uninverted questions in everyday conversation, yet relatively few in the classroom. However, none of these texts present the function which my own work, and that of many others, had indicated is associated with the primary use of SVO questions--clarification or confirmation. Either none of the authors had thought of this particular function or it was not deemed important enough to warrant a unit in their texts. In only one of the textbooks reviewed, Speaking Naturally (Tillitt and Bruder 1985), were uninverted questions used at all, although they were not explained. In fact, this particular presentation would probably only help to confirm our hypothetical student's theory that the distinction between uninverted and inverted questions is one of informality/formality. The only examples of SVO questions, even in this text, are of the informal, reduced new information type, as in (2,3a), rather than the prescriptively correct confirmation type, as in (1,9c). It is undoubtedly true that NSs often say things such as, "You want to come for dinner on Saturday night?"; however, this is a separate issue from a functional explanation of the use of SVO questions. In all likelihood, this utterance simply reflects a NS's omission of do from the stream of speech in informal interaction between NSs, leading SLLs to form a register difference hypothesis, and to ignore the perfectly legitimate clarification/confirmation function of SVO questions.

There has been increasing emphasis recently on bringing together more overt approaches to the teaching of grammar and communicative language teaching. This renewed attention to form, now renamed consciousness raising, has been fueled largely by questions of how SLLs form hypotheses and what sorts of evidence they need in order to confirm, revise, or discard them (Bley-Vroman 1986; Lightbown 1988; Rutherford 1987; Sharwood Smith 1981; White 1988). Where these ideas have been applied, it has generally been to the teaching and learning of grammar. The findings reported above suggest that a similar strategy might be applied to grammatical structures as they related to function as well. For instance, if the SLLs described above were to form the register difference hypothesis regarding uninverted and inverted questions, what evidence would be needed in order to force them to revise this hypothesis and form one more in step with NS usage? In order to do so, learners would have to notice that inverted questions are generally not used for clarification or confirmation, even in somewhat formal interaction and that SVO order questions such as (2) and (3) are generally not used in more formal speech. Realizing that certain forms do not occur is almost certainly a more difficult task than noticing the forms which do. It would seem, then, that the use of consciousness raising in these circumstances could also be very productive.

The use of SVO questions is just one of many which might illustrate the points which have been made here. Without a doubt there are many other similar cases. It is elaborated here primarily to underscore the idea that at the very least, we, as teachers and textbook writers may sometimes be sending our students barking up the wrong tree, giving them mixed messages or failing to give them the kind of evidence they need to form well-founded hypotheses about how the language they are learning is used.

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NOTES

[1] It also seems likely that there are phonological processes involved. It may be important that examples like this contain reduced elements such as wanna where the omitted do would have been placed.

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OH DARN! I'D LOVE TO COME, BUT I ALREADY HAVE PLANS: TELEVISION INVITATIONS AS CONVERSATION MODELS

Ann Salzmann

Textbooks and teachers' own intuitions are found to be inadequate sources of conversation models and description, because they are based on intuition. An ethnomethodological approach to conversation analysis is suggested, using conversations recorded from commercial television. The question of the degree to which such television conversations follow the rules of naturally-ocurring conversation is investigated by comparing the occurrences of one example of pragmatic behavior (the dispreferred behavior of refusing social invitations) found in 25 television conversations with a theoretical description of such conversation strategies.

THE PROBLEM

Language teachers have long struggled with the problem of providing effective conversation practice in the classroom. Even in English language programs that focus primarily on preparation of students for academic study in American universities, it is clear that research-paper writing, critical reading, lecture note-taking, and grammar practice are not all that is necessary to prepare students fully for active participation in university life. University students must also be able to carry on conversations appropriately with other members of the university community, as well as with people in the surrounding area. They need to be able to speak to professors outside of class, converse with fellow students, establish social relationships of various sorts, and interact with strangers in businesses and on the street.

Yet participating in conversation is one of the most baffling challenges for many otherwise successful language students. Students say they can't understand people who speak with them casually; misunderstandings occur; everyone is uncomfortable. The language teacher wants to help. But how?

The Variation of Rules of Speaking from Society to Society

Goffman (1976, p. 266-7) discusses what he calls "ritual constraints" in conversations, "constraints regarding how each individual ought to handle himself with respect to each of the others, so that he not discredit his own tacit claim to good character or the tacit claim of the others that they are persons of social worth whose various forms of territoriality are to be respected." This might be referred to in language classrooms as "politeness" or "formality," or, often, not referred to at all. It is these ritual constraints that allow speakers, within the more universal "system constraints" which provide the basic framework necessary for communication to occur, to adjust their language to the context in which they are speaking. Of special interest to language teachers is Goffman's observation that "... ritual concerns are patently dependent on cultural definition and can be expected to vary quite markedly from society to society." Members of different cultures have different expectations about how participants in conversations will act in given contexts, and assign meaning to deviations from these expectations.

Language Learners' Need for Explicit Guidance about the Rules of Speaking

Hatch and Long (1980, p.32), addressing the question of second language acquisition, conclude that the fact that these face-saving constraints on conversation are not universal may be "primarily responsible for what we call 'language shock,'" the psychological problems associated with the inability to communicate satisfactorily in a new language/culture. Learners might know the syntax and vocabulary of the new language, but still not understand how these rules of conversation which serve to protect feelings vary according to the social event. Moreover, basing his argument on Fraser, et al (1980) and Robinson (1985), Bouton (1985) tells us that, unlike native speakers, learners are unable to infer contexts and interpret conversations appropriately on their own. The rules are different, but they can't see how.

Language learners' inability to understand the rules of conversation in a new culture on their own may also be explained in part by Wolfson (1986, p. 690), who takes what we have seen in Goffman one step further when she says that "rules of speaking and, more generally, norms of interaction are not only culture-specific, they are also largely unconscious. What this means is that native speakers, although perfectly competent in using and interpreting the patterns of speech behavior which prevail in their own communities, are...unaware of the patterned nature of their own speech behavior." If learners are largely unaware of the rules of their own culture, it seems reasonable to assume that the contrasts found in the new one will not be easy for them to identify or interpret. Providing explicit guidance concerning the effect of context on the language being used may well be the best way for language teachers to help students combat "language shock."

The Ability of Native Speakers to Describe their Own Rules of Speaking

In the paper cited above, Wolfson continues her discussion of native-speaker intuitions about variations in conversation in response to context: "Native speakers are very well able to judge correctness and appropriateness of speech behavior...:... what native speakers are not able to do, however, is to describe their own rules of speaking" (p. 693). This inability may explain why many language learners are not adequately prepared to participate in conversations with native speakers, and may account for a weakness observed in many language textbooks. After examining 24 ESL texts, Bouton (1985) concludes that, in spite of a general awareness expressed by textbook writers about the need for language appropriate to the context, the pragmatic appropriateness of conversation models in textbooks cannot be assumed. He found misleading models and incomplete information about the use of one important set of ritual constraints -- constraints concerned with minimizing or neutralizing face-threatening responses, what Levinson (1983) has called "dispreferred seconds." If this can be taken as an indication of the reliability of pragmatic information found in textbooks in general, teachers cannot trust textbooks alone to provide students with the guidance they need.

To compensate for the inadequacy of textbooks, teachers sometimes attempt to provide the missing information themselves, through dialogues, lists of phrases, or explanations of appropriateness. However, if Wolfson is correct about the unreliability of native speakers' intuitions about the language they or others in their community use in a given speech situation, teacher-created conversations are bound to be inadequate as well.

Wolfson's claims are supported by the frustrating differences between the familiar "dialogues" composed specifically for language learners and the complex language observed outside the classroom -- and the fact that it is this very language that language learners often feel unprepared to handle. Teachers and textbook writers need not take this personally, or try to "improve" their intuitions in some way; it is the fundamental, unconscious nature of our awareness of these rules of speaking that frustrates our attempts. As Hatch and Long (1980, p. 32) say, in support of conversational analysis, "The analyst believes in using natural data bacause his questions are about real conversations. You cannot make up conversations and then analyze them."

The Need for an Ethnomethodological Approach

Given the unreliability of materials based on intuition, a more logical, productive approach for teachers and textbook writers who wish to describe the rules of speaking to language students would seem to be to try to FIND reliable models to work with, models that already exist, produced for some purpose other than the illustration of language behavior. An ethnomethodological approach to conversational analysis can then be used to analyze and describe the models in a way that would help language learners, as well as native speakers, see the recurring patterns within. Such an ethnomethodology is described in Levinson, as practiced by several others, and will be attempted later in this paper. Levinson describes this approach as essentially inductive, involving "as little appeal as possible to intuitive judgements...; the emphasis is on what can actually be found to occur, not on what one would guess would be odd (or acceptable) if it were to do so.... There is also a tendency to avoid analyses based on single texts. Instead, as many instances as possible of some particular phenomena are examined across texts... to discover ... systematic properties" (p. 287). This seems to be just the kind of approach that is needed to help language teachers and students understand conversation.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION

Textbooks and teachers' own intuitions have been demonstrated to be inadequate sources of conversation models and description. Conversational analysis of naturally-ocurring, unplanned language ocurring in real time would be theoretically sound, but is an impractical source of conversation for use as models for classroom presentation. It would be difficult for teachers to collect enough to represent clear patterns, and in a form suitable for presentation to students. In order to do so, the teacher would need to carry a video camera, audio tape recorder, or steno pad for hours at a time and somehow seek out and faithfully record conversations taking place among a range of participants in a rich variety of contexts, but without allowing the recording process to affect the content of the conversations. Conversations recorded using pencil and paper would have to include a wealth of information in addition to the actual words spoken (timing, vocal quality, physical setting, descriptions of participants, and body language, to mention only some). Audio recordings would include some, but not all, of this important information. Video recordings could capture most of it, IF the teacher were also a professional cameraman, and the participants blind. Recording enough naturally-occuring conversations is clearly not a viable option for busy teachers whose personal experiences are inevitably not broad enough to bring them naturally into contact with the full range of conversational contexts possible.

Another source of conversation models is available, however, and has a number of advantages for classroom presentation over both textbooks and teachers′ intuitions, and even over the use of naturally-ocurring language.

The source referred to is commercial television. The teacher can select a particular speech event, speech act, context, or topic in response to the teachers′ perceptions of student needs. Then a variety of television programs can be taped, examples of the language to be focused on can be identified and edited onto one tape, and these can be used both for analysis by the teacher and students and as a models in the classroom.

There is one important question concerning the use of television as a source of conversation models, though, that could disqualify it. This vital question is whether the conversations found there, while obviously not naturally-ocurring language, are, nevertheless, reliable representations of naturally-ocurring language which could serve to illustrate the rules of speaking in the culture which produced them and for whom they are intended.

Compelling Reasons to Investigate Television as a Source of Models

The question of the pragmatic appropriateness of television as a source of conversation models becomes crucial, because if television conversations can be shown to be reliable representations of naturally-ocurring language, other advantages over using models from textbooks or teachers′ intuition, or even naturally-ocurring conversations, are significant and appealing to language teachers. They include:

1. Availability: In this age of the VCR, television conversations are much more readily available to most classroom teachers than useable examples of naturally-ocurring language. Examples of countless speech events, speech acts, contexts, and topics can be found on television with a little patience, while teachers and textbook writers are inevitably limited by their individual experience, imagination, and energy.

2. Context: Television conversations come with a built-in context. They are set in a visible location, in which the speakers' ages, attitudes, clothes, and body language can be seen and interpreted. All of this information is available to viewers simultaneously with the conversation. The conversations are part of long (at least 1/2-hour) stretches of action and language, from which the context develops: we can see as much of what precedes and follows the language in focus as the teacher chooses, showing what prompts what is said and how it is said, as well as the reactions to it.

   When reference is made to the context of conversations in textbooks, written materials produced by teachers, or written transcripts of naturally-ocurring language, that context must be understood through written explanation, the teacher's oral description, or inference by the student. Textbook and teacher-written conversations are usually isolated from any larger unit of communication, so we can only imagine what might lead up to or follow them, since in fact nothing does.

3. Timing: The intonation and timing of the utterances are presented without reliance on written symbols or the imagination of the teacher or students.

4. Repeatability: Since the conversations are on tape, they can be repeated indefinitely, with no alteration in pronunciation, body language, etc., as different aspects of the conversations are highlighted. It is difficult not to change the way a conversation is read aloud when focusing on specific words or phrases.

5. Interest and motivation: It is obvious to students that the television programs, themselves, are a part of and reflect the culture the students have been trying, to some degree, to participate in. If the class is taking place in the target culture, they may even recognize the characters, and know that they can find other similar conversations on their own television screens at home.

A Potential Flaw that would Eliminate Television as a Suitable Source of Models

As a language teacher, I believe these advantages are significant and tempting, but regardless of the convenience and appeal of television, the serious problem of pragmatic appropriateness must be investigated before television can be considered as a source of models of conversation for use by language teachers and students. While the problem of reliance on the teacher's or textbook writer's intuition is avoided, and the conversations are part of a larger context instead of isolated, hypothetical cases, these are still not unplanned, naturally-ocurring conversations. Are teachers doing students a serious disservice if they use television conversations as the basis for a presentation of conversational strategies? Will they be producing speakers of "television English"?

We do, of course, refer to something called an "ear for dialogue," and recognize it as a special gift, worthy of Oscars, Emmys and Nobel Prizes. And we can hope that the professional writers and actors who produce television conversations are talented enough to create conversations that follow the rules of natural conversation. But mere hope is not a legitimate basis for assuming the validity of television dialogs as models of natural English. Whether or not it is must be investigated further before any such assumptions can be made.

A PLAN OF INVESTIGATION

In order to investigate the very serious question of the ability of television writers and actors to create conversations that follow the rules of naturally-ocurring conversation, I chose one example of pragmatic behavior to examine: the dispreferred behavior of refusing social invitations. I recorded 25 conversations containing invitations and responses to them from 11 commercial television programs. I wanted to compare the responses to these invitations to the description given by Levinson (1983) and Bouton (1985) of disprefered seconds in English. My thought was that if dispreferred seconds are used in these conversations according to the principles observed in conversations ocurring in real-life situations, then there would be reason to begin to trust television conversations as models for classroom use.

Of course, other conversational strategies would also have to be studied to provide a more complete picture before we could feel justified in placing significant confidence in television as a source of authentic language in its many possible contexts. Soap operas are full of amnesia victims, life-and-death confrontations, international intrigue, and complicated family histories that are far, far from the experiences of most of us. Sit-coms exist on punch lines and laugh tracks. But in between the histerics and clever wit come greetings, partings, introductions, apologies, invitations telephone conversations -- speech events we all know and love.

DECLINING INVITATIONS: THEORY

One half of the comparison I wanted to make between television conversations and those ocurring in natural contexts required a systematic description of the use of face-threatening responses (dispreferred seconds) in the latter. I base my description on the analysis of Levinson (1983, p. 334-347) and Bouton (1985).

Students need to know several things about declining invitations, and they cannot be expected to infer the rules for interpreting and using them without explicit guidance:

1. Students need to know what responses ("seconds") are dispreferred, what causes native speakers to feel uncomfortable, feel that they or their conversation partner might lose face. This is a cultural preference, not determined by the personal feelings of the speakers. In the context of my investigation, they need to know that accepting and declining invitations are different not only in the choice between yes or

no and affirmative or negative verb forms. They are different in kind. Accepting invitations is preferred: no one has to be indirect or careful when doing this. Declining invitations, however, is face threatening and requires special handling of a very different sort.

2. Students need to know that because declining invitations is dispreferred, the first preference of speakers is to avoid whenever possible offering an invitation that might be declined. Invitations are often preceded by "pre-sequences," intended to test the waters before jumping in. "Do you like Italian food?" might preface an invitation to dinner at an Italian restaurant. If the response to this pre-sequence warns of a possible declination, the invitation will probably not be offered, or can be modified to make it more acceptable. Everyone is spared. (Since pre-sequences are often recognized as imminent invitations, answering them negatively is also dispreferred behavior, however, so some softening will still occur. But the more face-threatening response -- saying "no" to an actual invitation -- will have been avoided.)

3. Students need to know that declining invitations is dispreferred behavior in English, regardless of how it is done, but that it can be "softened" or "neutralized" somewhat by marking the response in certain ways. They must also realize that if it is not marked in these ways, native speakers will infer meaning from the absense of the markers. ("He was rude. She was angry. ...")

4. Students need to know how declinations of invitations are marked in English. And they need to recognize the markers as signs of coming declines, requiring face-saving measures on the part of the decliner. (They should not confuse this concern for face with uncertainty or indecision.) When declining an invitation, a speaker may use any number or combination of the following markers (summarized from Levinson, 1983, p. 334):

   a. delays:
   -- pause
   -- checking for accuracy, etc.
   b. prefaces:
   -- uh, well, ...
   -- appreciation
   -- apology
   -- qualifiers
   -- hesitation
   c. account: (must be a carefully formulated explanation for saying "no", -- and an acceptable excuse in the context)
   d. declination: (indirect, mitigated)

5. Students need to know what options are open to the extender of the invitation, once the signs of a coming "no" response are recognized. Since conversation is a cooperative activity, and declining invitations is face-threatening for BOTH participants, the inviter has special responsibilities, too, if face is to be preserved on both sides.

a. The inviter can "back off" as soon as he sees the "no" coming, by minimizing the importance of the invitation, acknowledging the validity of the account given, or in some other way cooperating in the softening of the declination.

b. Or, he may decide to press the invitation, recognizing that the other person is likely to decline, but choosing to risk all and try to change his mind. (He may or may not be successful in ultimately receiving an acceptance to his invitation, but it should still be noted that, in either case, both participants must operate on the assumption that the original intent of the responder was to decline.)

ANALYSIS OF THE CONVERSATIONS

These five points, based on the work of Levinson and Bouton, provide a checklist of necessary information concerning the handling of face-threatening responses in natural conversation and can be used to measure the degree to which the television invitations are true to what research has discovered with regard to their real-life counterparts:

1. The difference between accepting and declining invitations
2. The use of pre-sequences
3. The effect of not marking dispreferred responses
4. Specific dispreferred markers used in English
5. Possible responses to dispreferred markers

Each point will be discussed in relation to the 25 conversations I recorded from television. Examples will be numbered to refer to the transcriptions of the conversations found in the appendix. A few notes about the transcripts (which are not intended to represent the entire communicative act by themselves, but are intended to accompany the videotape):

a. The conversations are transcribed in a form appropriate for presentation to students, so normal written form is used. Although some words and phrases are reduced as they are spoken (e.g., "gonna") students see the "full" form ("going to") as they hear the reduced form associated with it.

b. "Fillers" like "uh," "um," etc. are not included for the same reason; students are able to follow the semantic thread of the message without interruption.

c. No attempt has been made to account for the timing of the utterances, due in part to lack of appropriate equipment, so pauses do not show up in the transcripts.

What follows is a comparison of the television conversations with the five points identified above. My purpose here is to establish whether the television conversations do indeed follow the rules of natural conversation. If the conversational models do prove to be appropriate for classroom use, it would be important that they and the rules be reorganized for presentation, so that students could perceive both the examples and the system.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ACCEPTING AND DECLINING INVITATIONS

To analyze the conversations in regard to this point, I looked at the invitee's response from the point in the conversation immediately following the invitation until the invitation is either accepted or declined:

YES (N=14)

#4 Uh, yeah. I think that sounds pretty good.

#7 Yeah, yeah, maybe. Yeah.

#8 Sunday? (CHECKING?)
I don't think we have anything planned. Why not?
(--> arrangements)

#9 Oh, that's a good idea.
(--> arrangements)

#10 Fine. That'll be nice.
(--> arrangements)

(Just say no if ...)

#11 Oh, no. I would love to go.

#12 All right. Sounds good.
(--> arrangements)

#13 Oh, yeah Mike. I would like that a lot. (--> arrangements)

#16 Sounds terrific.
(--> arrangements)

#17 Yes, actually, I would.

#18b Sure. OK.

#19 (non-verbal. Gets up to go.)

[#22 (checking?, twice?)]

#23 Oh, Mr. Drake. I'd really love that! (--> arrangements)

No (N=14)

#1 Well (PREFACE)
not to be rude (APOLOGY)
(account)

#2 I thought you had special plans (CHECKING)
(account)

#3 Tonight? (CHECKING)
(appreciation)
(2 accounts)

#5 I can't. But let's ...

#6 Oh, (PREFACE)
(appreciation)
But I, I've got to pass.
(HESITATION/MITIGATED DECLINE)
(non-verbal, pat)

#14 No,I don't think so(QUALIFYING)

#15 Mickey, (2 accounts)

#18b Oh (PREFACE)
(account)

#20 (no response)

#21 No thanks, Elyse (APPRECIATION)
(account)

#24i.Oh, darn! (PREFACE/REGRET)
I'd love to come(APPRECIATION)
(account)
ii.Oh, (PREFACE)(account)
iii.Oh, rats!.. (PREFACE/REGRET)
(account)

#25 Well (PREFACE)
Thank you very much anyway(APP)
but I'd better not (MIIGATION)
Thank you. (APPRECIATION)

There seems to be a clear difference simply in the length and complexity of the two types of responses, as Levinson leads us to expect. Next I will look at the specific forms that make up these differences, to see if they are used in these television conversations as we would assume they would be if these interactions were true reflections of real ones.

PRE-SEQUENCES

To study the use of pre-sequences, I looked for introductory questions that seemed to be designed to precede a potential invitation. I only recorded here those which were followed by actual invitations, and which allowed the invitee a chance to respond before the invitation was extended. One shortcoming of this selection process, I realized later, was that because the trigger that caused me to pay attention to particular conversations was an actual invitation, my data does not contain any pre-sequences that were "turned off" so that no invitation followed. Because I was not looking for them, I cannot say whether any such thawrted pre-sequences were in the programs I monitored or not. That will remain a topic for future investigation.

The four conversations below contain pre-sequences:

In conversation #12, Mike, a young doctor, invites his teenage friend, Frankie, to lunch:

#12 Hey, what are you doing for lunch?
(Nothing. Why?)
(invitation)

In conversation #13, this same Dr. Mike tries his hand at a little matchmaking and invites his unsuspecting teenage sister, Jennifer, to lunch, too:

#13 What are you doing for lunch?
(Well, it depends on who's asking me to lunch)
(invitation)

In conversation #14, Dr. Mike is busy again, this time trying to cheer up his docotr friend, Janice:

#14 How about some company?
(No, I don't think so)
(Come on, (invitation))

Conversation #18 finds professional football player Zack, young widow Jessie, and Jessie's older neighbor Mr. Kaplan at a barbecue, where Zack attempts to ask Jessie to go dancing:

#18 Are you much of a dancer? (Zack)
(Mr. K: My foxtrot is a little, you know, I've got to ...)
(Jesssie: I'm not a professional. But I'm able to get around a dance floor.
(Zack: (invitation))

In these conversations, we have some interesting things going on. In every case, the person invited obviously feels an invitation coming. In #13, Jennifer even says "... it depends on who's asking me to lunch," although no one has invited her anywhere yet. In #14, Janice marks her response as a dispreferred second, which the inviter recognizes but decides to try to override. And #18 is particularly interesting. Since there are three people present, if the pre-sequence were actually nothing more than the question it is on the surface, it would seem that it could be addressed just as easily to either person. But when the older man begins to respond to the question as a question, even he realizes that he has spoken inappropriately, and stops after several self-corrections, and before finishing his sentence. The woman then answers the question, but follows with an answer that shows that she is open for an invitation.

There were only 4 genuine pre-sequences leading to invitations in the 25 conversations. I am not sure whether that proportion is comparable to pre-sequences in naturally-ocurring conversations, but at least these four examples are sufficient to present the function of pre-sequences quite interestingly.

EFFECT OF NOT MARKING

Consistent with Levinson's argument, the "yes" answers seldom were preceded by the markers listed above. (When they were, those markers suggested uncertainty -- and this uncertainty was reflected in other facets of the situation as well.)

To study the effect of unmarked "no" answers on the participants in the television conversations, I looked at the reaction of the inviter to responses in which the invitation was declined without any of the markers listed by Levinson, or with markers that the inviter seemed to consider inadequate, because Levinson does make the point that for an account to be an effective marker of dispreferred behavior, it must be adequate and acceptable in the context of the invitation.

Unmarked "No's":	Response of Inviter:

In conversation #5 Edgar turns down his former wife's invitation to dinner:

#5 I can't, but let's	(no sign of inappropriateness)

In conversation #20 Zack doesn't even answer when his young friend, David, invites him to play football:

#20 (no response)	Zack?

In conversation #24 Judge Harry Stone invites his four friends and co-workers to his home to discuss an obscure legal case. Prosecutor Dan, Public Defender Christine, Bailiff Bull, and Clerk Mac do not share the judge's enthusiasm.

Inadequately Marked "No's":	Response of Inviter:
#24 i. Oh, darn! I'd love to come, but I already have plans, sir. (Dan) *	Too bad. How about you, Mac?*
ii. Oh, I've got plans, too, sir. (Mac)	
iii. Oh, rats! So do I.(Chris)	So you all doing something together? .. What have you got planned?
Water skiing! (Bull)	It's 20 degrees outside! Everything's frozen over!
(jokes, attempting to justify waterskiing in winter)	I don't believe it! We're about to ..., and you folks don't even want to take part! I would think that you would drop everything to come by!

* This first exchange shows no sign of inappropriateness. It's the cumulative effect of four people's responses that causes trouble.

There were only three conversations that included unmarked (or inadequately marked) "no" answers, but that seems consistent with Levinson, who says that unmarked dispreferred responses are the exception, and carry special meaning.

The first conversation here (#5) represents dispreferred behavior (declining an invitation to dinner), but does not contain any of the dispreferred markers used to save face. There is no internal evidence that it is considered inappropriate that the man simply answers "I can't." It does seem significant that he follows with a counter-invitation of his own. In light of my understanding of Goffman and the essential nature of dispreferred markers as face-saving measures, I will not set this aside as an example of television conversation that does not follow the rules of natural conversation, but rather make a note of the counter-invitation as an additional dispreferred marker.

In conversation #20, the young boy clearly considers the man's response inappropriate, a reaction that is consistent with the research. Not taking the trouble to use any dispreferred markers when declining an invitation conveys anger, rudeness, or some other special circumstance inconsistent with conversational cooperation. Actually, if I had included a longer piece of this scene, as I remember it, we would have seen that after Zack passes David without responding, the boy continues down the stairs to his grandfather and asks if there is something wrong with Zack. This would have been further evidence of the inappropriateness of Zack's actions.

In conversation #24, when the first person appropriately declines the judge's invitation (a deliberately unappealing, humorous one) with several markers -- a preface, expression of regret, appreciation, and a generic account -- the judge finds nothing unusual. But when all 4 people decline, using the same generic account ("I've got plans"), the judge becomes suspicious and challenges these accounts, which turn out to be a transparently convenient invention for the purpose of declining the invitation. (It is interesting to see that the need to provide some account is so strong that they grasp at the first thing that comes to mind, an absurd waterskiing trip in mid-winter. Of course, it is this absurdity that provides some of the humor, but it would not work if people didn't regularly invent plans to "gracefully" get out of unwanted situations.) When the flimsiness of their accounts becomes obvious to the judge, he is hurt and angry, as the research says participants in real-life conversations would be. The reason given for not accepting his invitation ("plans") is not adequate for the importance he places on the celebration he has invited them to; he feels justified in questioning them further, and uncovers their true feelings that they were trying to conceal through a normally acceptable strategy. The humor comes from their inability to carry out the strategy successfully by providing a less transparant excuse for not attending this charicature of a celebration. But aren't we all occasionally invited to some event of great importance to the inviter, but which seems silly to us? Don't we handle it in basically the same way, but with a little more finesse?

Again, in these last two examples, the consequences of not marking, or marking inadequately, declinations of invitations are portrayed in ways consistent with the literature.

MARKERS USED IN DECLINING INVITATIONS

To judge the validity of specific strategies used by the television characters in declining invitations, I recorded everything said by the responders to invitations from the actual invitation to the declination itself, and compared them to the markers listed by Levinson: delays, prefaces, accounts, and mitigated declination components.

a. delays:

Pauses were hard to identify and compare consistently, since I do not have the sophisticated equipment required, so I could not investigate this area as thoroughly as might be desired. There was one conversation, between Dr. Mike Horton and Dr. Janice Grant, with a clearly significant delay:

#14 MH: ...I'll take you to lunch.

JG: (silence)

MH: OK?

Janet has already begun to decline the invitation, but Mike persists. Her silence prompts him to press further, indicating that he realizes that he has not yet changed her mind.

Another delaying tactic, checking to see if the invitation has been properly understood, is represented in these conversations responses to invitations, which continue with attempts to decline the invitations:

#2 I thought you had special plans.

#3 Tonight?

b. prefaces:

As I explained above, I did not record the ocurrances of sounds like "uh," "um," and "ur." Other fillers, "oh" and "well," signaling coming declinations, are recorded:

#1, #25	Well
#6, #18, #24	Oh

Apologies are another sort of preface found by Levinson and also in the television conversations. I also found expressions of regret, which I took as a variation of apology:

#1 Not to be rude, ...
#1 I'm sorry ...
#24 Oh, darn!
Oh, rats!

A third kind of preface identified by Levinson is an expression of appreciation, also represented in the television conversations:

#3 I really do appreciate this,...
#6 Oh, I appreciate that Eliot.
#21 No thanks, Elyse.
#24 I'd love to come, ...
#25 Well, ... thank you very much anyway,.... Thank you.

Qualifications are another example of a preface to a declination:

#14 No, I don't think so.

And hesitations. I think there were some of these that I did not record, either, out of consideration for the ease with which students could follow the conversation. I did record one:

#6 ... But I, I've got to pass.

c. accounts

The most common component of declinations of invitations in the television conversations was some sort of account for the declination. I found it helpful to identify two types of accounts among those found in the television conversations, although Levinson did not discuss this. Some accounts are founded in a show of consideration for the inviter, while others explain why it would be difficult or inconvenient for the responder to accept.

consideration for inviter:
#2 No, I don't want to get in the way.
#3 ... I didn't want to snarl at anyone.

excuse for responder:
#1 Bo and I have had a hectic day and (were) hoping to have a nice quiet dinner alone by ourselves.
... I'm sorry, my tuxedo's a mess.
#3 ... I wanted to be alone.
#15 Mickey. I am so beat. Besides, I just ordered a hamburger. And it's not that I don't want to. It's just that now is not a good time.
#18b Oh, why walk when you can ride?
#21 I'm going to go take a run -- just kind of clear my head, you know.

(And then there are the inadequate accounts given to the judge in #24)

d. declination component -- mitigated, or softened:

Of course, the invitation is often finally declined, but usually with some sort of mitigation, like past tenses, modals, etc. Two examples from the television conversations are:

#6 But I've got to pass.
#25 ... but I'd better not.

One other said "no" in the same breath as one of the markers listed above:

#21 No thanks, Elyse. (followed by account)

Interestingly, all of the other people that ultimately declined (10 of the 14) did so without actually saying "no." The markers did the job of declining the invitations for them, primarily the accounts. Nothing is said about this in Levinson, but is an interesting observation. If the television conversations are otherwise found to be valid, this additional point could be noted.

So, all of the markers of dispreferred responses identified by Levinson are found in the television conversations, and seem to be used in ways consistent with the principles outlined by him. Certainly, students could learn about the functions of these markers by having an opportunity to study their uses in conversations like these.

OPTIONS OPEN TO THE INVITER

This is an area that seems to me to follow logically from the discussion of responses to invitations, but I did not find it covered by Levinson. The language learner needs to complete his instruction in participating in invitations by thinking through what an inviter can do if he recognizes the signs of a "no" response to his invitation. The television conversations offer examples of the two possibilities that had occured to me as I was reading Levinson's article. Each of these responses by the inviter ocurred after the person invited had used one or more of the dispreferred markers discussed above, which indicate coming declinations:

a. "backing off":

#2 I can understand if ...
I suppose you want to ...

#25 (immediate acceptance, without pressure)

b. applying pressure:

Here, I was able to divide the strategies used by the inviters who tried to change the minds of the responders in the process of declining invitations into three types. Since Levinson does not discuss this aspect of conversation, these strategies will have to be checked further before we can trust them as part of natural conversation, but they seem natural to me:

appealing to the interest of the invitee:

#1 ... you'll find this very relaxing; ...
(Janet) sent (your tux) out to the cleaners.
#3 It's my treat.
I hear you've had a rough day.
#15 Grace, you're right. We have a lot to talk about.

asking consideration for the interests of the inviter:

#3 I always enjoy a night out.
Do you know what would ruin my evening? ... To cook for one.
I'm hungry.
#15 Well, what do I have to do, make an appointment?

assuming acceptance, not taking "no" for an answer:

#1 I'll tell you what it is at dinner.
#3 Get your coat.
You're not going to be able to. (get out of ....)
#15 Cancel it. (your order)

Levinson doesn't discuss the options of the inviter, but they seem to be something related to the use of dispreferred markers that should be presented to learners of English who want to be able to participate appropriately in conversations with native speakers of English. As examples of Goffman's (1976, p. 266-7) ritual constraints, the rules surrounding responses to invitations place responsibility on both individuals in the conversation for "safeguarding not only feelings but communication, too."

CONCLUSIONS

From what we have found in measuring the television conversations against the research done by Levinson, we can feel fairly confident in using such conversations as resources for preparation of materials for classroom use. The language does compare favorably with what is known about naturally-occuring conversations. What's more, the advantages of using dynamic television conversations rather than dialogues written in textbooks or created by teachers are a strong motivation for continuing to investigate their use in the classroom.

Another result of this study is that I have become aware of a further product of this approach, possible because of my native speakers' ability to judge appropriateness and interpret patterns of speech behavior that I encounter (Wolfson, 1986). As I came across unexpected strategies, I was able to fill out the theoretical models presented by the literature by analyzing the new data in light of the research and fitting it into the system. Examples of this are the counter-invitation as a marker of dispreferred behavior and the various options open to the inviter. In this way, the range of possibilities that can be presented to students grows, and they are also encouraged to look at language they encounter outside of the classroom and see how it fits into a dynamic, ever-expanding system.

Of course, this has only been a study of one specific aspect of conversation, invitations and responses to them. We have found that with regard to this particular aspect of conversation television dialogue follows the same strategies as those in real life. But a variety of other speech acts and their associated strategies must be looked at before we can say with any confidence that television is a reliable source of models of English conversational strategies in general. Perhaps only certain types are reproduced authentically on television. Perhaps even these occur only in certain types of programs. But the experience of analyzing these 25 conversations is encouraging as we turn to television for readily accessible models on which to base stimulating classroom materials.

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APPENDIX

1. from *Days of Our Lives*, NBC
   in a home. Young couple + husband's father.

VK: Oh, good. You're home. I've planned a special family dinner for this evening. I figured since you're about to be parents and I'm about to be a grandfather, we should celebrate.

HB: Well, not to be rude, Mr. Kiriakis, but Bo and I have had a hectic day and (were) hoping to have a nice quiet dinner alone by ourselves.

VK: Oh, I can assure you, you'll find this very relaxing; all you're going to have to do is pick out your favorite gown.

BB: Gown? Oh, it's dress-up. I'm sorry, my tuxedo's a mess.

VK: Yes, Janet noticed that. She sent it out to the cleaners. It's upstairs. You can come down whenever you're ready.

BB: Oh, but we ..

VK: ... oh, and I've got a surprise for you. I'll tell you what it is at dinner.

2. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
   in a ballet dance studio

LE: Look, I don't want to keep you. You go ahead and change.

MJ: What about you?

LE: I'm in no apparent rush to get home. Think I'll just stick around here and do some work. That new combination's just not as sharp as I want it to be.

MJ: Listen, maybe .. Well, if you'd like to go out and have some fun, and try and get your mind off things, you're welcome to come to dinner with Pete and me. I mean, that is, if you don't mind joining us.

LE: I thought you just said that you guys had made special plans.

MJ: I wouldn't ask you to go if I didn't want you to. Listen, you helped me through a really hard time. You kept me busy; you kept my mind off a lot of things through my dancing. I just want to return the favor, if that's OK.

LE: No, I don't want to get in the way.

MJ: Lars, I can understand if you don't want to go to dinner. Pete and I would love to have you, but I know that you don't want to be social with your dancers.

LE: Look, Melissa, I'm already more social with you that I am with anyone else, so I suppose that ...

MJ: I suppose you want to keep a professional distance, right?

LE: No, actually, I suppose it wouldn't do any harm if I joined you and Pete for dinner.

MJ: Really? You'll come? Well, that's great!

3. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
in a home. Neighbors

RB: Hello, Mrs. Horton. Come on in. You need a favor, you got it.

AH: I've got it? And you don't even know what it is? That always tempts me to ask for something impossible.

RB: Oh, now, hold on some. Maybe I ought to know exactly what it is before I get in over my head.

AH: Well, it's really very simple. Tom's working late at the hospital, your mother says that Carrie and the twins are with her, so I thought maybe you'd join me for dinner.

RB: Tonight?

AH: We could go to Blondie's. And I invited you, so it's my treat.

RB: Oh, wait. Is this .. a favor for you, or is this a favor for me?

AH: It is a favor for both of us. I always enjoy an evening out, and I hear you've had a rough day.

RB: Yeah, that's true. I have had better.

AH: I heard what happened with Kimberly's baby. It must have been so frustrating for you to know .....

RB: Alice, look. I really do appreciate this, but to tell you the truth, I kinda got rid of Carrie and the twins because I wanted to be alone. I just kind of felt like I was going to be snarling tonight, you know, and I didn't want to snarl at anybody, and so ...

AH: Roman Brady, if you snarl at me, I'll snarl right back at you. Get your jacket.

RB: Hey, come on now, really. I'd be a terrible guest, and I'd just ruin the whole evening. I would.

AH: Do you know what would ruin my evening?

RB: What?

AH: To cook for one! I'm hungry! And I won't get anything to eat unless you join me.

RB: Why do I feel like I'm not going to be able to get out of this?

AH: Because you're not going to be able to.

RB: OK. OK. Only if I get to pay, though. All right?

AH: Absolutely not!

RB: Well, then, how about a compromise? We will go dutch.

AH: A compromise!

RB: OK?

AH: You can pay next time.

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4. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
sisters on the telephone

Ka: Hello.

Km: Whoa, Kayla, Is that you?

Ka: Kim, I'm really sorry.

Km: Well, what's the matter?

Ka: It's just been a frustrating evening. I'm sorry. What's up?

Km: Well, I hope something that'll change this frustrat(ing) evening.

Ka: What?

Km: Well, I don't feel like being alone tonight, and it doesn't sound like it's high on your agenda, either, so, I thought we'd go out to dinner. You know, just the two of us.

Ka: Uh, yeah. I think that sounds pretty good. Maybe it'd do me good to get ot of this place. Yeah, all right. You're on.

Km: OK? Great!

Ka: So, what? What time?

Km: I have a little bit more work to do here at the hospital, and ...

Ka: An hour, maybe?

Km: Yeah, yeah. You come here. We'll decide where we want to go. Just like old times!

Ka: Brady sisters out on the town, huh? .. All right. How about an hour?

Km: That sounds good to me. "Poifect!"

Ka: All right. I just have to change my clothes and I'll be there.

Km: OK.

Ka: And, Kimmie?

Km: Um hm?

Ka: Thanks for thinking of me.

Km: Well, thanks, yourself. And Kayla ..?

Ka: What?

Km: Don't be late. I'm starving!

Ka: OK. I'll talk to you.

Km: OK.

Ka: Bye, bye.

Km: Bye.

5. from *St. Elsewhere*, NBC
in a hospital. Ex husband and wife.

HR: Would you care to have dinner with us tonight?

EE: I can't. But let's get together for a nightcap later.

HR: Oh, that'd be great. I'll call you at the hotel.

6. from *St. Elsewhere*, NBC
in a hospital stairway. two young doctors

EA: You know,.. a coincidence. I'm just out of Harvard Med myself, so, if you need any pointers, like with your --?--ship or something, I'll be happy to help you. Maybe over dinner or something?

CN: Oh, I appreciate that Eliot. But I, I've got to pass.

7. from *Moonlighting*, ABC
in an office. man and woman

DA: So, given that, what do you think? Maybe me and you can go out on a date, just a regular pick-you-up-at-7:30, home-by-11:30, with-food-maybe-a-movie-type date. I mean, do you think? Maybe?

MH: Yeah, yeah, maybe. Yeah. ... Well, I guess I'd better go now.

8. from Dallas, CBS
in an office. acquaintances

BE: Well, then why don't you start your own company?

AS: What kind of company?

BE: What do you like? What do you know about?

AS: Well, I've always liked clothes.

BE: Well, there you go. Why don't you ... (phone) Excuse me.

(on telephone) Yeah?

scy: Lisa Alden on line 4.

BE: (to April) Just one second.

(on telephone) Hello, Lisa.

LA: Hello, Bobby. Look, I hope you don't think this is forward or anything, but how would you and Christopher like to go to Pennywhistle Park on Sunday?

BE: Sunday? I don't think we have anything planned. Why not?

LA: Great! Should I meet you there?

BE: Of course not. We'll come by and pick you up. About 9am?

LA: OK. See you Sunday.

BE: OK. Bye.

LA: ?

BE: (hangs up)

(to April) I'm sorry. Where were we?

9. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
in an apartment. man and woman

RB: Well, hey. Now that I've found you, what do you say we go out for breakfast or something?

DC: Oh, that's a good idea. I'll make breakfast for you.

RB: Oh yeah?

DC: Yeah.

RB: All right.

DC: That'll give us a chance to finish our discussion.

RB: Our discussion?

10. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
upstairs in a large home. Man and woman

DC: To tell you the truth, I've never actually thought about it.

VK: Yes, well I've arranged for a late-night supper. Why don't you change your clothes and meet me downstairs in 20 minutes.

DC: Fine. That'll be nice. I'll see you in 20 minutes.

11. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
in a bedroom. Man, woman, woman's friend

VK: Excuse me. What is it?

svt: I'm sorry, but there's someone to see Miss Coleville. She says it's an emergency.

KD: Hello!

svt: Miss, you cannot ...

KD: Oh, my goodness, is it dark in here!
Diana! I hate to interrupt, but I had to see you.

DC: What is it?

KD: Well, this is our last night here, and I know, I apologize for having to interrupt like this, but Shane and I wanted to know: could you spend a little bit of time with us? ... supper?

VK: Kimberly, I will excuse your bursting into my home ...
KD: And I apologize. You are absolutely right, Victor. Absolutely. This is not the correct protocol.

But it's my last night here, and I haven't seen you. I know I'm intruding. Just say no, if I ...

DC: Oh, no. I would love to go.

KD: Oh, you would? Oh, great! It's all set. Wonderful!

Oh, I'm so sorry, Victor. I mean, I would love to extend the invitation to you, but knowing that you and Shane aren't the best of friends might be uncomfortable. Sorry.

VK: You go right ahead... You have a good time, now.

DC: Thank you.

VK: Kimberly.

KD: Victor.

12. from *Days of Our Lives*, NBC
outside. friends

MH: Yeah, I know what you mean. Hey, what are you doing for lunch?

FB: Nothing. Why?

MH: So why don't you come by my place around 12 o'clock? Look, we'll shoot some hoops, I'll rent a movie, we'll forget our troubles.

FB: All right. Sounds good.

MH: All right, buddy. I'll see you around noon.

FB: OK. I'll see you then.

MH: OK.

13. from *Days of Our Lives*, NBC
on a pay telephone. brother and sister

JH: Hello.

MH: Jennifer! Jennifer Horton!

JH: Hi, Mike. What's going on?

MH: Hey, how did you know it was me?

JH: I know "funny voice #327." It's one of my favorites. What's up?

MH: What are you doing for lunch?

JH: Well, it depends who's asking me to lunch.

MH: Well, I get off pretty soon. I thought maybe you could come around to my place.

JH: Oh, yeah, Mike. I would like that a lot. I haven't been able to see you a lot lately, you know.

MH: Well, yeah, well your big brother's going to be running a little bit late, so why don't you go over to my place, get the popper ready, and I'll be home soon with "Duck Soup."

JH: Oh, great! Great!

MH: OK. "Be there, or be square."

JH: All right. Got you, bro.

MH: OK. Bye, squirt.

JH: Bye.

14. from Days of Our Lives, NBC
in a hospital corridor. friends

MH: Look, If there's something I can do... How about some company?

JG: No, I don't think so.

MH: Come on. I'll take you to lunch.

JG: (silence)

MH: OK?

JG: Well, OK.

MH: OK. I always could con you.

JG: I know you can.

MH: But I have this terrific little place. We'll have a cold luncheon buffet. Come on, mademoiselle.

JG: You ARE crazy!

MH: That I am. ...

15. from LA Law, NBC
in a bar. two lawyers

M: You know. I've called you a couple of times.

G: I've been so under water with this murder prelim. I'm sorry.

M: You know, I can hardly hear myself think in here. You want to go someplace quieter?

G: Mickey. I am so beat. Besides, I just ordered a hamburger.

M: Cancel it.

G: Cancel it?

M: Grace, you were right. We have a lot to talk about.

G: I know. And it's not that I don't want to. It's just that now is not a good time.

M: Well, what do I have to do? Make an appointment?

16. from Mr. Belvedere, ABC
in a home. friends.

W: ... Oh, and listen. Alan's flying in from San Francisco tomorrow. Why don't we all have dinner tomorrow? I really want you to meet him.

KO: Sounds teriffic. Is it OK if I bring a date?

W: Sure, why wouldn't it be? See you.

17. from Our House, NBC
in a garage workshop. two men

GW: ... figure I could read your miond, or something. You want to go fishing now?

JK: Yes, actually, I would.

GW: Good. Good.

18. from Our House, NBC
in the yard of a vacation cabin. man and woman, recent acquaintances +
older man, friend of woman

Z: Are you much of a dancer?

JK: My foxtrot is a little, you know, I've got to ...

JW: I'm not a professional. But I'm able to get around a dance floor.

Z: Well, my middle name is "two left feet," but if you're game, there's a bar in the village. They've got a live band.

(interruption)

in the same yard. woman/daughter sitting, man on motorscooter
MW: Hi!

Z: What's the word, girls?

MW: We're going for a walk. Do you wnat to come with us?

Z: Oh, why walk when you can ride?

Say, I never got an answer from you about dancing.

JW: Well, I didn't have much of a chance to answer.

Z: Yeah, right. Well, how about tonight?

JW: Sure. OK.

Z: Great!

19. from Our House, NBC
in the yard of a vacation cabin. man on motorscooter, two young acquaintances (brother and sister)

DW: Nice going, Zack!

CW: Do you know how close you came to wiping out?

Z: How close?

CW: (indicates inch or two with fingers)

Z: Really? I thought I was a lot closer than that.

Who wants to go for a spin?

DW: (jumps up, gets on scooter)

Z: Ready?

DW: Yeah.

Z: All right. Hang on. We're going to let loose!

DW: Hit it. Yeah!

20. from Our House, NBC
near a lake. young boy, man. acquaintances

DW: Hey, Zack! Want to throw the football around?

Z: (walks on in silence)

DW: Zack?

21. from Family Ties, NBC
in a kitchen. brother- and sister-in-law

EK: At least sit down. Let me make you some breakfast.

RK: No, thanks, Elyse. I'm going to go take a run -- just kind of clear my head, you know. I'll be back in about 15 minutes.

22. from My Two Dads, NBC
father on telephone with his daughter

M: Nicole. Listen, Nichole. Do you want to go to an early movie tongiht?

N: ?

M: Just you and me.

N: ?

M: I don't know. About 7 o'clock?

N: ?

M: Yeah? Then it's a date.
N: ?

M: Teriffic. OK.

N: ?

M: I love you, too.

N: ?

M: Yes. NO, it's not too late to go to school.

N: ?

M: Yes, I want you to go. Yes, you have to go.

N: ?

M: Goodbye.

N: ?

23. from Cheers, NBC
in a bar. Owner and manager

R : Nice to see you again, even if it was just for a short while.

ED: Oh, by the way, I'm hosting a little party Friday night for some of the key people. I'd lova it if you would come.

R : Oh, Mr. Drake, I'd ... really love that!

ED: 8 o'clock. My club. Black tie. Here's the address. .... And bring a date, or a companion, or whatever.

24. from Night Court, NBC
in a courthouse cafeteria. Judge, lawyers, and other court employees

HS: Hey, don't make any plans for aftr work, because I got a bootleg copy of the Edwin Newman-William F. Buckley debate over the ramifications of the Plessy vs. Fergeson case! They left in all the 14-letter words!

DF: Oh, darn! I'd love to come, but I already have plans, sir.

HS: Too bad.

How about you, Mac?

M : Oh, I've got plans, too, sir.

S: Oh, rats! So do I.

B : We all do.

HS: So, you all doing something together?

All: Yes!

HS: What have you got planned?

B : Water skiing!

All: Yeah, water skiing!

HS: It's 20 degrees outside! Everything's frozen over!

M : That's the way we like it, sir.

DF: Yeah. Get a great deal on the boat, too. 16 bucks, have it back by March.

HS: I don't believe it! We're about to celebrate the double-platinum anniversary of the most important document in the world, and you folks don't even want to take part! I would think that you would drop everything to come by!

25. from LA Law, NBC
in an elevator. Man and woman, strangers?

M: What would you say to continuing this over lunch?

W: Well,... thank you very much anyway, but I'd better not. Thank you. Bye, bye.

M: Bye.

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IDEAL 5, 1990

VIDEO-BASED MATERIALS FOR COMMUNICATIVE ITA TRAINING

Elizabeth Axelson

Carolyn Madden

Video has emerged as an essential tool in the training of ITAs. The use of video, however, has not frequently enough engaged the ITA trainees in the active learning process essential to the success of second language learning. The focus of this paper is on the design of video-based materials in accordance with current methodological principles of ESL, and the development of a set of relevant classroom discourse features to meet the practical needs of ITAs in the classroom. The goal of the materials is to utilize video interactively in order to provide prospective ITAs with an opportunity to discover and use the language and culture of the classroom.

INTRODUCTION

Two questions that need to be asked in any training situation are: what does the trainee need to learn; and how can the trainee learn most effectively? While the final word on the "what" and "how" of International Teaching Assistant (ITA) training is not in, there is consensus among ITA trainers on the appropriateness and attractiveness of using video as a teaching tool in the ITA classroom. As Jack Lonergan (1984) observes, video presents "complete communicative situations" which are "dynamic, immediate and accessible." Video can provide direct and fast feedback on the performance of participants as they practice various aspects of teaching; and videos of situations in the office or classroom can be used to stimulate discussion of appropriate responses to those situations. Tapes of teachers actually in the act of teaching provide a rich source of input of the language of the classroom and other teaching skills. Josh Ard (1987) indicates that "learners must attend to phenomena before they can be learned." Thus, ITAs need to be "drawn into attending to the relevant language factors" of the classroom and academic office. And while actual classroom observations have their benefits, bringing the video into the classroom provides the teacher and prospective ITAs with opportunities to focus on, review and discuss the salient issues of language, pedagogy and culture of the classroom. As with any technology, however, the use of video in the classroom often comes without sufficient thought for implementation and considerations of materials design and learning theory. Richards and Rodgers (1987) point out that the accessibility of video materials challenges "teachers and program organizers to find ways of maximizing their use in language programs" but they go on to say that

> problems teachers confront in attempting to incorporate video into their classrooms include their unfamiliarity with the use of video materials, the lack of challenging materials ... which incorporate relevant pedagogic features, and the lack of a well established set of methodological principles for the use of video materials. (p.56)

More explicitly, ITA trainers have commented that it is difficult to find good examples and to know what to select from tapes of authentic classroom performances. They have also found that discussion of a video can be trivializing, focussing on detail while missing larger organizational issues. And further, that both trainees and trainers are often bored by the material. The "show and tell" approach of most video lessons provides opportunity for the trainees to respond to the TV much the same way students in an audio-lingual ESL class responded to the teacher. In an attempt to bring video and its use in the ITA classroom into harmony with current approaches, we need to focus our energies on the design and implementation of tasks and activities which will challenge and engage the ITAs in interaction, group work and the learning of language through use in an authentic context. These key characteristics of current ESL methodology have been the focus of much of current ESL/EFL research (Long, 1983, Brumfit 1984, Candlin and Murphy 1987, Bygate 1988, and many others) and need to be reflected in the design and implementation of ITA materials. The following discussion and illustrations represent an attempt at designing video-based materials which reflect the above characteristics of current methodology.

TASK DESIGN

Two important steps in designing language materials for ITAs are, first, the development of a set of discourse features to be incorporated into the lessons, tasks or activities, and second, a determination of the specific criteria to use to guide the design and management of these tasks.[1] We approached the former by observing numerous classrooms and videotapes of classes, including those developed by Douglas and Myers (1987). From this experience, we created a tentative list of features of classroom discourse (see Appendix A) that appeared to reflect some of the key elements of the language and pedagogical behavior of effective teaching. We then chose a sample of tapes of native- and nonnative-speaking TAs and professors who were identified as effective teachers by end-of-term, university-wide evaluations. After confirming that our list reflected, to some extent, the language and behavior of these teachers, we began to transcribe the tapes--a tedious but essential component of utilizing authentic classroom presentations in the context of current methodological principles. The transcript allowed a closer look at what was going on in the classroom, providing the data for a deeper understanding of the language of teaching and other teaching behaviors and the ways these affect the learning and motivation of students. Our subsequent decisions about which discourse features to focus on were a matter of practical concern. That is, we were interested in those essential components that could be accommodated in the context of an interactive task and were salient in the data we had transcribed.

The second important step in designing ITA materials was to establish criteria for the design and management of the tasks. First, we wanted the tasks to engage the ITA trainees in small group activities. Small group activites are an effective means for enhancing the opportunities of language learners to engage in meaningful negotiations and to receive feedback on their communicative effectiveness (see Long 1983, Pica and Doughty 1985). Second, in accordance with the learning-centered approach of Hutchinson and Waters (1987), in which learning is seen "as a process in which the learners use knowledge or skills they have in order to make sense of the flow of new information" (p.72), we wanted to design tasks in which trainees' manipulation and contribution to the input were essential and where there were opportunities to discover *new* language in the context of both the authentic discourse of the video and the negotiated discourse of the activity. Finally, we were intent on generating options in terms of the language of the classroom and style of teaching behavior for prospective ITAs, which, in our view, requires tasks with unlimited response possibilities rather than the more traditional learning environment of tasks with a limited set of right and wrong answers. The materials described below are the result of this approach to task design.

TASKS

The tasks presented here center around the video and transcript of a Greek Math ITA, who receives very positive student evaluations and whose students do well in the Calculus courses she teaches. The particular class on which these materials are based took place at 9:00 a.m. in November, 1988, in a hot basement room of the University of Michigan Residential

College. The ITA had to contend with sleepy, unenthusiastic students, as she ran a review of problems on integration in preparation for a quiz.

The first task focusses on 4 components of a classroom: the student-teacher relationship, body language, the language of questions and blackboard use. In preparation for the task, ITA trainees are expected to read the transcipt, view the video and respond to questions designed to help prospective ITAs evaluate the overall classroom performance of a TA. This preparation enables trainees to come to class prepared to contribute to a discussion, ready to negotiate in and about the language and behavior of the classroom. The materials they receive for homework and a subsequent in-class activity are shown below.

Task 1

A. Preparation: Overview

On Wednesday, February 1st we will be viewing segments of a Math class taught by Olga Yiparaki and analyzing some aspects of her teaching. To prepare for that class, your assignment is to view a portion of the tape. A transcript is provided below. **Read over the entire transcript** before you start watching. It covers more of the class than you will actually watch, but the additional material will help you get a feel for the class. After reading the transcript, **view the tape from counter number 775 to number 1400**. The actual viewing will take you 12 to 15 minutes. When you are finished, remember to rewind the tape to 0.

As you watch the tape, do one of the tasks listed below. Your task corresponds to the number written in the top right corner of this page. If the number there is #1, then your task is to do #1 below as you watch. If the number written above is #2, do task #2. In class, you will share your observations with others in a small group. So, check out the number in the top right corner of this page and then find your special assignment here:

#1. Teacher-Student Relationship: As you view the tape, focus on the relationship between the teacher and her students. What is it? Are they relaxed with each other? Good humored? Hostile? Bored with each other? In the space below, write your general impression of how the students and the teacher are getting along. Also consider how their relationship is expressed during the class. Make notes on some of the specific things they do which contribute to your impression of their relationship.
[Student writing space has been reduced to save space]

#2. Body Language: As you watch the video tape, pay attention to Olga's use of body language. Consider eye contact, her facial expressions, her body posture and movement, and the way she gestures as she talks. Make notes here on what she does and your evaluation of her use of body language.

#3. Language: As you watch the video, answer these questions.

a. What kinds of questions does Olga ask? Do all her questions look like questions?
b. How does Olga respond to students' questions?
c. Does she check for student understanding? How?
d. What pronouns does she use? What effect does her choice of pronouns have on the tone of the class?
e. Other observations about Olga's use of language?

#4. Blackboard Use: How does Olga organize her work on the board? What is the interaction between writing and speaking? Does she maintain contact with the class while using the board and, if so, how? How does she use the board to underscore important points? Write your observations here.

[**Note:** Students receive a complete transcript for the segment of the tape they are to view. In order to save space, we are not including that transcript here. If you would like a copy, please write to Elizabeth Axelson or Carolyn Madden, English Language Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48109.]

B. In-class Activity: Overview

1. In the top left corner of your homework paper there is a letter - A, B or C. Get together with the other people in class who have the same letter you have. In this group, share the observations you made of Olga as homework. Each of you can report on your overall impressions of her as a teacher and on your specific observations of one of the following:

1. **teacher-student relationship**
2. **body language**
3. **language**
4. **blackboard use**

2. Choose one or two of the items your group has discussed to share with the class as a whole. For instance, if your group disagreed about some aspect of Olga's performance, or if something she did made a big impression on all of you, share that with the rest of us.

The second task relates to the use of stress and emphasis in the lecture situation. Trainees are asked to decide how they would have used stress effectively in a given part of the transcript they have received. Having performed their versions--with comments from others in their group on effectiveness and appropriateness--they then listen to the TA's rendition of the same passage, mark her use of stress on a clean copy of the transcript, and discuss the relative merits of different choices and possible overall guidelines for using stress. The materials for this task are given below.

Task 2

In-class Activity: The Use of Stress or Emphasis

1. Stress (higher pitch and/or louder volume) is a powerful tool to use to get your message across in the classroom. It helps you hold the attention of the class and underscore important points. The following passage is from Olga's class. As you read it, imagine you are the teacher and these are your words. What would you stress or emphasize to make your message most clear and effective? Underline words you want to stress, using a single line for moderate stress and a double line for heavy stress. Then, read your version aloud to a partner in your group, with feeling. Have your partner read his or hers to you.

(At this point in the calculus class, Olga is giving an example to help answer a student's question. She is putting two problems on the board, to compare their solutions.)

(O.) Let's go from 1 to x of d q d t and compare with the derivative with respect to x from 0 to x, which ... d t. OK. (Student enters late.) Integrate this. You get 2 to the fourth over 4. Evaluate between 1 and x. So you get the derivative with respect to x of x to the fourth over 4 minus a quarter. And now if you differentiate, you get ... you get x cubed. This term drops out. OK. This on the other hand is gonna be the derivative with respect to x. Again, the same function but now the limits of integration are gonna be 0 and x. Which becomes the derivative with respect to x of x to the fourth over 4 minus 0. Differentiate this, you get x cubed. (Circles results of both problems and connects them with a line.) They're the same. (pause) because this bottom limit was a constant. OK. So even though the functions are not equal, their derivatives are equal. Make sense? So, it really doesn't matter what you have there. The only assumption we're making about f is that it's a continuous function. Which is a necessary assumption. Otherwise, we can't even bother with the integral, we can't take the integral. That's the only assumption.

2. Now we will view this segment of the tape, to see how Olga uses stress. As you listen, mark the words she stresses by underlining them with a single or a double line. [Note: A second copy of the passage has been eliminated to save space.]

3. Now compare your version with Olga's. Circle the differences. Discuss these differences in your group. Which was more effective, your version or Olga's? Why?

The third activity concerns teachers' mistakes, a subject we selected because this is a difficult feature of classroom discourse for *any* new TA and the tape afforded a good example of a teacher error and self-correction. Initial discussion focusses on what a teacher should do to correct her mistake in the minds of her students. These discussions have generated the following items:

- state that you have made a mistake; admit it; make sure students know that you made a mistake and are correcting it.
- apologize or not, depending on the nature and cause of your mistake. Some students feel that an apology is appropriate, others feel that mistakes are inevitable and OK, apologies are necessary only when the mistake is the result of carelessness, inadequate preparation, etc.
- explain how/why you made the mistake and how to avoid it in the future.
- involve students in coming up with the correct solution and its rationale.
- repeat the correct answer
- check student comprehension
- allow time for the change of information and new solution to sink in.
- make sure students correct their notes; make a handout with the correction for the next class.

The task further requires that trainees consider the function of each repair in the transcript, identifying and evaluating the steps she takes to correct herself. Finally, they return to the issue of stress, considering how the TA uses it to enhance the effectivenes of her correction. The materials for the third task appear below.

Task 3

In-class Activity: Teacher Mistakes

1. It is inevitable that teachers make mistakes in the classroom. We sometimes teach material that is incorrect or not true. If we are lucky, we notice our mistakes and can correct them.

Suppose you realized, during class, that you had made a mistake while teaching. Briefly, discuss in your group what you should do to correct your mistake in the minds of your students. Of course, we all agree that it is important to give the right answer, but what *else* should you do to teach the correct idea and supplant the incorrect idea already taught?

2. While solving part B of problem 59, Olga incorrectly responds to a student's suggestion that negative 2, as well as 2, can be put into the equation for x. Olga says, "Negative 2 would work fine ... either one you want" . A little later she discovers her error and corrects it. Here is what she says.

If you want you can check that you get the same answer if you plug in negative 2 for x. uh. You're gonna have a negative here. OK. And this term will become ... um ... negative 2 pi? right? (pause) Oh. oh oh oh. I forgot to say one thing. We're going from 0 to x squared. So the only assumption we're making for f of t is the minimal one. The minimal we can make. Which is that f is defined and it's continuous on this integral. OK. Whatever x is, it's positive. x squared is positive. So, I'm looking at a positive integral. And therefore this is OK so far.As far as 4 is concerned. But it's not OK down here. Does it make sense? OK? So, in fact, you don't get the same answer. So you do need to use 2 for for this, for the 2 squared and not negative 2 squared. OK. (Erases the board.)

Using this transcript, answer the following questions and discuss them in your group.

1. How does Olga signal that she has made a mistake? Circle the signal.
2. What else does she do to correct her mistake? Look closely at the sentences in the transcript. What do they accomplish?
3. Would you say that she handles this situation well? Is there anything you think she could have done better?

3. Now, listen to this passage on the tape. Mark your transcript for stress, underlining stressed words. How does Olga's use of stress help to communicate the correction of her mistake?

The subject of the fourth activity is the linking of old and new material, an important technique which enables students to relate new ideas or problems to ones they have already encountered and understood. We have used this somewhat more traditional language activity either in class or as homework. In it, trainees review a section of the transcript, finding the language the TA has used to connect old and new material. They then analyze and categorize some of the linking expressions the TA has used and, through negotiation with their group, discover additional phrases which serve similar functions. Materials for this task are given below.

Task 4

In-class Activity: Linking Old and New Material

Learners learn best when they can tie new information to something they already know. This old information may be part of their general knowledge of the world or something already taught in class. An important function for the teacher is to make the links between the old and the new, to show how new ideas or problems are related to ones the student has already encountered and understands.

A. Below are 2 passages from Olga Yiparaki's calculus class, which you have already viewed. Before reading this transcript, I want you to think back over your memory of Olga's class. Without looking at the transcript, answer this question: .

1. How often during her class would you say Olga says things which link old and new material? Circle one:

NEVER A LITTLE SOMETIMES OFTEN A LOT

Now, read carefully through the transcript and underline all the language you can find that links old and new material. You may underline single words, phrases or whole sentences, or even groups of sentences, if you think they all serve the function of linking. An example is underlined for you.

Transcript

Let me do. I know I'd only assigned Part A of Problem 59. um But let's look at Part B. It's a ..slightly more complicated. You have an integral from 0 to x squared not just x, of f of t d t. And we know that's x cosine pi x. OK? And the question is the same, find f of 4. (writes) (pause) Well, what should we do? (long pause)
(S.) Start out the same way, wouldn't you?
(O.) Start out the same way, right. The idea is the same. We have some expression involving f. The integral in particular which is equal to this. If I had a formula for f of x then I could just plug in 4. So you start out the same way. Differentiate this integral. The derivative of this integral now, is goin' to be what? You're gonna have to use the formula I gave you yesterday, the general formula. Which says that if I have a u up here which is not just x, it's a function of x, and I wanna differentiate this integral, what do I do? Replace the t by (pause)
(S.) u
(O.) by u. It's gonna be f of u. times, times what?
(S.) d u
(O.) (Nods) the derivative of u. d u d x. Remember, this came from the general. So, this is going to be f of x squared and what's d u d x?
(S.) 2x.
(O.) 2x. All right. So, the derivative of the left-hand side is this. That means it's equal to the derivative of the right-hand side. So f of x squared times 2x is equal to the derivative of this. Which we found before to be cosine pi x minus x times p times sine pi x. OK?
. . . And the last part of 59 is Part C, which again is a variation. um, and we have this. (writes on the board.) And we still want to find f of 4. Notice the difference with the other 2 parts is that they give you the function here that you're integrating explicitly OK? but they don't give you the upper limit. Whereas before we didn't know what f was, little f, but we knew what the limit was. OK. So, this is a different kind of problem and they give you a hint. And the hint says integrate. So let's follow the hint. Integrate this and you get what? (pause)

2. Now, what is your impression of how often Olga says things during her class which link old and new material? Circle one:

NEVER A LITTLE SOMETIMES OFTEN A LOT

Compare your answers to #1 and #2. Is there more or less linking language than you thought before you started investigating the transcript?

B. The linking expressions Olga uses fall into 3 categories; those that **contrast** new information with old, those that point out the **similarity** of new information to old, and those which **remind** the student of relevant old information. Below are some of the expressions Olga uses. Indicate whether their function is to contrast, show similarity or remind by writing the appropriate letter in the blank space after each expression.

contrast = C
similarity = S
reminder = R

1. It's slightly more complicated ____
2. we still want to find f of 4 ____
3. Notice the difference with the other 2 parts. ____
4. Remember, this came from the general. ____
5. and we know that's x cosine ... ____
6. which again is a variation ____
7. start out the same way ____
8. which we found before to be ____

Do you think that any of these expressions fall into more than 1 category? If so, in the space below write the number of the sentence or sentences and indicate what part of the expression indicates contrast, what part indicates similarity and/or what part indicates a reminder.

Finally, write down other expressions you know which could be used when teaching to indicate contrast, similarity or reminding. Think of at least 2 for each category.

1. **expressions of contrast:**

2. **expressions of similarity:**

3. **reminders:**

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Over all, the tasks just described have met the goal of using video interactively to provide trainees with opportunities for meaningful negotiation and the discovery of the some features of classroom discourse. Our experience with the first task--the overview of the student-teacher relationship, body language, the language of questions, and blackboard use--indicates that ITA trainees form different opinions of the TA's performance, which they are able to argue about based on details they have observed. Furthermore, they sometimes draw different conclusions from the same evidence, creating a rich discussion and dramatizing the fact that a given action may not have the same effect on all observers or learners. As for the second task, the stress activity, we find that it sensitizes students to the myriad of personal choices in the use of stress and emphasis and to some of their effects. However, we are not entirely satisfied with this task as it stands, and are looking for a shorter passage in the tape, with a punchier delivery. The third task, which focusses on teacher mistakes, gives students the opportunity to consider how to respond to what is an inevitable and potentially uncomfortable occurrence in the classroom. Experience with the fourth task, examining linking language, suggests that it is more effective as an in-class activity than as homework. In-class use challenges students to think of a wider variety of linking expressions, as well as more complex expressions. Furthermore, activities such as the categorization of linking expressions, for which there are no hard and fast right answers, are more effective when discussed in class. Finally, to step back from the individual activities for a moment, the materials seem to demonstrate the benefits of mining a relatively long segment of tape for a variety of tasks. Discussion is enriched by the establishment of a context, enabling students to consider individual details of the teaching performance in the light of a more holistic perspective.

In conclusion, we feel that these four activities sensitize students to some important issues of language use and other teaching behavior in the classroom and that they help prospective ITAs make their own choices of behaviors to improve their teaching. More importantly, we think that the process by which these materials were developed has proved useful and fruitful. To ensure that video works as an effective teaching tool, therefore, we recommend the following steps in the development of materials employing it: establish, from observations, a list of features of classroom discourse to be taught, however tentative or untidy it may be; select tapes of teaching episodes of some length, particularly by successful ITAs, illustrating the features identified; transcribe those tapes, so that trainees will be able to explore the use of language in depth; using both the transcript and viewing as elements, develop interactive, small group tasks in which trainees form and share opinions of the performance viewed, and discover and evaluate the taped teacher's language and other teaching behaviors through response to open-ended questions. We hope that, by describing this on-going process of creating objectives and our methodological approach, as well as by providing examples of tasks generated by it, we have given ITA trainers some useful steps to follow in developing teaching materials using videotapes.

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NOTE

[1] For the purpose of this discussion, we accept Breen's (1987) definition of task, i.e., "the notion of 'task' is used in a broad sense to refer to any structural language learning endeavour which has a particular objective, apporpriate content, a specified working

procedure, and a range of outcomes for those who undertake the task. 'Task' is therefore assumed to refer to a range of workplans which have the overall purpose of facilitating language learning from the simple and brief exercise type to more complex and lengthy activities such as group problem-solving or simulations and decision-making" (p.23).

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Appendix A

Features of Classroom Discourse

- restating
- paraphrasing, expanding, synonyms, analogies
- using examples, leading to examples, analogies, metaphors
- making implicit/explicit
- linking
    - leading to the next point
    - relating new and old work
- underscoring main points
- signaling important points
- using cohesive markers
- transitions (signposts)
- using questions
    - for marking transitions
    - for reinforcement
- using student answers to reinforce main point
- accepting student answers, questions (eg. I'm trying to remember ...) or deferring (eg. Why did she come up with that answer?)
- responding to unanswerable questions
- clarifying the question, repeating, highlighting
- eliciting opinions, guesses, ideas
- labeling steps
- explaining
- narrating, use of tense, pronouns
- offering warnings, i.e. reminding students what the objective is
- giving advice (eg. I want to remind you that ..., that's the form ...)
- strategies, heuristics (eg. We set it up and the next thing to do is ...)
- concluding, wrapping up
- using students' names
- summarizing
- using stress, rhythm, and intonation
- board work, organized, multiple channels
- body language
- setting the tone and talking to the class, talking to yourself
- handling students' wrong answers, your own mistakes, running out of time, revising your plan as you go.

IDEAL 5, 1990

THE AURAL PERCEPTION OF FAST-SPEECH PHENOMENA

Inn-Chull Choi

Non-native speakers of English in general have more serious problems in the area of aural skills than in the area of oral skills, especially when they are not familiar with fast-speech (sandhi) phenomena such as reduction, deletion, assimilation, etc. This study examines the relationship between L2 learners' aural comprehension of fast, spoken English and the different degrees of their exposure to systematic listening instruction and to television and radio broadcasts. Data from 709 university-level Korean students show that systematic listening instruction, particularly when combined with occasions for students to listen to real-world English, had the most dramatic and powerful impact on students' developing aural comprehension skills.

INTRODUCTION

L2 learners often gain control over more and more complicated and sophisticated grammar and vocabulary without progressing in their oral and aural skills beyond a basic and explicit pronunciation. From the viewpoint of their own production of the spoken language, this limitation may not be so damaging; that is, a foreigner whose command of English is not perfect is nevertheless likely to be understood if he speaks slowly and clearly. From the perspective of understanding ordinary spoken English, however, an inability to comprehend anything more than a carefully articulated variety of English pronunciation must be regarded as disastrous for those who want to be able to cope with native English situations (Brown, 1977, pp. 156-168).

In an American setting, native English speakers of all backgrounds and educational levels speak quickly or in an informal, casual manner (Weinstein, 1983; Madsen and Bowen, 1978). In fact, most oral communication takes place on the informal level.[1] It is important for students to recognize that fast informal English, not slow colloquial, is the norm--the expected and appropriate style--for most interactions.[2] It should also be emphasized that features like contractions, changes in the pronunciation of vowels in unaccented words, the connecting of adjoining words, and other fast-speech phenomena are not signs of careless, incorrect, or inefficient language use, despite the fact that these characteristics are not normally represented in written English. When spoken by educated members of society, such features are typical of what is referred to as *educated informal speech*.[3] They are widely shared and their use binds members of a group together. Non-native students who plan to communicate with native speakers will, therefore, often encounter fast, relaxed speech and should be prepared to deal with it.

The overarching issue to be addressed is how best to prepare students to handle the comprehension demands of everyday interaction with native speakers of English. This study investigates two aspects of this issue in a Korean setting. First, is systematic instruction focusing on aural comprehension of spoken English conducive to improving students' listening skills? If so, to what extent does systematic instruction help?[4] Second, to what extent does exposure to the American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) help learners improve their listening skills either with or without systematic listening instruction.[5]

Framed as hypotheses, these questions become the following:

(a) There is a significant difference between the aural test performance of students exposed to systematic instruction with fast-speech phenomena and that of those who are not exposed to such instruction.

(b) There is a significant difference between the aural test performance of students exposed to both AFKN broadcasting and systematic fast-speech instruction and that of those who are exposed only to AFKN broadcast without such instruction.

It should be noted that the listening task (spot listening) employed in this research tests only the micro-listening skills of the subjects. Thus, the interpretation of the result of study cannot be generalized beyond the scope of micro-listening. Although some research has found a correlation between the frequency of ESL students' contractions and their general proficiency (Odlin, 1978, pp. 451-458), and although the present research revealed a relatively high correlation between micro-listening and macro-listening, it is yet to be confirmed that a measurement of micro-listening can represent a learner's overall aural comprehension skill.

CATEGORIES OF FAST-SPEECH PHENOMENA

Use of the term *fast speech* as a cover term for the styles or registers in which phonological reduction or contraction occurs is well established even though it is recognized that tempo and style are potentially mutually independent. In other words, casual (informal) speech may or may not be fast, just as careful (formal) speech may or may not be slow.[6] Despite the lack of a formal definition of *fast* in fast-speech, whether it refers to words, syllables, or phonemes per a unit of time, casual speech appears to be associated with increased speaking speed (Dalby, 1986).

Linguists have categorized fast-speech phenomena in a variety of ways, and have referred to them collectively not only as fast-speech phenomena but also as *sandhi variation*, *realistic oral interpretation*, and *stylistic morphophonemics* among others.

Sandhi variation refers to 'the phonological modification of grammatical forms which have been juxtaposed' (Crystal, 1980, p. 311). Sandhi processes, which occur in many languages, include *assimilation, mutation, contraction, liaison,* and *elision* (Bloomfield, 1933, pp. 186-189 et passim). Generally, sandhi will occur only at a normal speed of speech and will be distorted or obliterated by any slowing-up process (Pei, 1966).

Prator and Robinett deal with sandhi (internal and external) in the spoken language (1985, pp. 189-205). The principal processes of sandhi variation that they include are *assimilation, obscuration, omission,* and *insertion.* Obscuration and omission are synonymous with reduction and deletion, respectively, in other categorizations.

Madsen and Bowen use the term realistic oral interpretation to refer to fast-speech phenomena. They believe that realistic oral interpretation involves at least three pronunciation phenomena (notably so in English), i.e., *reduction, assimilation,* and *contraction* (1978, pp. 34-50).

Reduction involves vowel reduction, of course. But, in their categorization, it also includes the loss of certain consonants such as *h* and *th*.

Madsen and Bowen point out that assimilation almost exclusively involves consonants. Unlike other sets of categories, they argue that the insertion of intrusive consonants facilitating the transition between sounds quite different from each other is another type of assimilation. They claim that palatal assimilation (palatalization) is strongly characteristic of English and that the patterns are of great generality (s, z, t, d, + y ⇒ sh, zh, ch, j).[7]

According to Madsen and Bowen, contraction applies only to specific combination of words (e.g., *isn't, gonna*). They point out that the difference between the full and the contracted forms helps clarify the meaning with the contrastive information.

In the present research, fast-speech phenomena will be used as a general term representing the phonetic and phonological variation of casual, relaxed, informal, spoken utterances typically reduced, contracted, or under-specified in real-world American English. For purposes of this study, a modified version of Dickerson's (1986) framework was adopted because of its systematic and thorough descriptions of fast-speech phenomena.

Dickerson refers to the streamlining processes evident in casual speech as stylistic morphophonemic changes, in that "educated native speakers of English change the pronunciation of their words in everyday, informal speech so that the words require fewer articulatory gestures and can be spoken more rapidly" (1986). An analysis of these phenomena proposes that the two major processes include *smoothing processes* for smoothing the transition between sounds and *compression processes* for compressing sounds so that they take less time.

The seemingly more pervasive *linking* phenomena, for example, vowel-to-vowel, vowel-to-consonant, consonant-to-vowel, consonant-to-consonant transitions at word boundaries, will not be dealt with in this study. They can easily form the basis for another major study of fast-speech phenomena. Unable to treat all aspects of this topic at once, this study focuses on the following categories in order to address the above hypotheses.

The smoothing processes involve 1) *assimilation:* i) *voicing,* ii) *point,* iii) *manner;* 2) *insertion:* i) *stop epenthesis,* ii) *glide insertion;* and 3) *dissimilation:* i) *haplology,* ii) *schwa insertion.* Each of these smoothing processess is illustrated below.

Voicing assimilation refers to a phenomenon in which one segment takes on the voicing of an adjacent segment. For example, the /t/ of *petal* becomes voiced before the voiced syllabic /l/, so that it sounds like *pedal.* Point assimilation occurs when one segment moves to the point of articulation of (usually) the next segment (regressive). Palatalization in which alveolar consonants shift to the palatal position is a prime example of regressive point assimilation. Manner assimilation is the process by which one segment assimilates to the manner of articulation of the adjacent segment, usually a nasal. For example, *give 'em* is often pronounced as /gibm/, in which the fricative /v/ changes manner to a stop /b/ under the influence of a following bilabial made with closed lips, namely, /m/.

In the category of insertion, stop epenthesis refers to the intervention of a plosive stop between (usually) a nasal and a fricative, e.g., the appearance of /p/ as in /warmθ/, the pronunciation of warmth. Glide insertion means the appearance of /-y/ and /-w/ between adjacent vowels, and of a central glide between some vowels and /l/ and /r/.

Dissimilations are changes that occur where similar sounds are in close proximity. One type is haplology, the deletion of duplicate elements or syllables, as in the /prabli/ pronunciation of *probably*. Another type is schwa insertion, the introduction of an extra schwa sound to avoid the loss of similar sounds, e.g., /z/ → / z/ after sibilants.

The compression processes consist of phenomena such as 1) *reduction:* i) *vowel reduction,* ii) *syllabication,* iii) *tapification;* and 2) *deletion:* i) *consonant cluster simplification,* ii) *geminate cluster simplification,* iii) *vowel elision,* iv) *consonant elision.* Each of these is illustrated next.

Among types of reduction, vowel reduction is very typical of fast speech in that almost all vowels become schwa when unstressed. Syllabication refers to a phenomena in which mainly /l, n, r/ become syllabics in unstressed syllables following nonsonorants. Tapification occurs when /t, d, n/ turn into flaps (taps) between a stressed vowel and an unstressed vowel.

In the category of deletion, consonant cluster simplification (CCS) represents the loss of a consonant in a string of three consonant sounds, e.g., /d/ as in *landlord.* Geminate cluster simplification refers to a loss of one of two identical and adjacent consonant sounds. Vowel elision represents a loss of schwa primarily from an unstressed syllable, as in the loss of the *o* in *factory.* Consonant elision is a loss of mainly initial /h, w/ from unstressed function words, e.g., *give him → give 'im.*

RESEARCH METHOD

Subjects

Two foreign language institutes offering instruction in listening to fast, informal spoken English and three universities offering instruction in listening to articulated, formal spoken English were chosen to participate in the test. Five hundred students were selected from the universities, but only 428 responses were available for the analysis, excluding the invalid answers. Four hundred students (all of whom were taking a listening course at the language institutes) were chosen from the institutes, but only 281 valid responses could be utilized for the analysis. Thus, 709 student answers were counted as valid responses for the present research.

Test Development and Format

The final version of the test was developed on the basis of an item analysis and an evaluation of reliability and validity of pilot tests administered to 44 subjects, all attending the Intensive English Institute at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

The test material consisted of a written text and an accompanying cassette tape. The written text was made up of a questionnaire, instructions for the test, and a spot-dictation answer sheet. The questionnaire included seven question items mainly concerned with the students' educational background in the area of listening and the extent to which they watched AFKN TV. The vocabulary and grammar of the test was kept strictly at a rudimentary level to ensure that lexical and grammatical competence did not serve as intervening factors.

The final test consisted of 50 question items. For the sake of an unbiased interpretation of the results of the test, four items were assigned to each of the ten major subcategories, such as 1) *vowel reduction*, 2) *tapification*, 3) *syllabication*, 4) *consonant cluster simplification*, 5) *geminate cluster simplification*, 6) *vowel elision*, 7) *consonant elision*, 8) *assimilation (manner, point)*, 9) *assimilation (point; Y-ful)*, 10) *glide insertion*, respectively. Fewer than four items were assigned for each of the minor subcategories. There were three items for auxiliary+*have*+past participle, two for *gonna*, two for tapification+consonant elision, one for dissimilation, one for *-in'*, and one for *-thing*.

Subjects would hear on the tape an item from subcategory 8, for example: *Is that everything you do?* On their spot-dictation answer sheet, they would attempt to fill in the blank: ______ *everything you do?*

Research Design

The dependent variable in this study was students' overall performance on the micro-listening test expressed as an interval-scale test score. The total score represents the number of items correct. The independent variables included 1) the students' exposure to instruction in the aural comprehension of formal and/or informal speech, and the exposure to AFKN broadcasts. Information regarding these independent variables was obtained from the questionnaire which accompanied the listening test.

The research employed a criterion group factorial design. A two-criterion group design was used because the past treatments of the subjects could not be controlled. A factorial design accommodated the two levels of independent variables considered in this research (i.e., the extent of exposure to listening instruction and to AFKN).

A statistical procedure of analysis of variance was used to examine the research questions. A one-way ANOVA was employed to compare the total score with the degree of exposure to fast-speech instruction, and a two-way ANOVA was utilized to compare the total score with different kinds of instruction.

To determine the relationship between the total score and the degree of exposure to AFKN broadcasts a one-way ANOVA was employed, and a two-way ANOVA was used for comparing the total score in relation to the extent of exposure to fast-speech instruction and to AFKN programs.

In order to draw some useful conclusions from this research, subjects were groups according to the type of listening instruction they had received. The different amounts of exposure to fast-speech listening instruction (FS instruction), careful-speech listening instruction (CS instruction), and AFKN-broadcast listening were also categorized. The categories used are the following.

Subjects were assigned to four groups based on the extent to which they were exposed to listening instruction: Group 0 represents a group with no exposure to FS or CS instruction; Group 1 refers to a group with exposure to CS instruction only; Group 2 is a group with exposure exclusively to FS instruction; and Group 3 represents a group with exposure to FS and CS instruction.

The length of exposure to listening instruction and to AFKN broadcasts is considered a moderator variable which allows us to investigate the effect that different lengths of listening instruction and AFKN broadcast exposure had on students' performance.

The CS instruction group (Group 1 above) was categorized into four subgroups on the basis of length of instruction in terms of months. The subgroups are: Group 0 (less than two weeks), Group 1 (more than two weeks but less than four months), Group 2 (more than four months but less than eight months), and Group 3 (more than eight months). The rationale for basing groupings on a four-month period is that courses are offered on a semester basis (roughly equivalent to four months) at the participating colleges.

The FS-instruction group (Group 2 above) was categorized into four subgroups also on the basis of length of instruction in terms of months. The subgroups are: Group 0 (less than two weeks), Group 1 (more than two weeks but less than two months), Group 2 (more than two months but less than three months), and Group 3 (more than three months). The rationale for grouping by the month is that courses are offered on a monthly basis at the private foreign language institutes.

The extent to which students were exposed to AFKN broadcasts was classified into four categories in terms of length of exposure time. The four subgroups are: Group 0 (less than one hour a week), Group 1 (more than one hour and less than four hours a week), Group 2 (more than four hours and less than seven hours a week), and Group 3 (more than seven hours a week). The length of exposure to AFKN was subdivided according to the results of an analysis of the empirical data from the survey, and in order to most closely approximate an equal sample size (for maximum validity) for each category.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Effect of Listening Instruction on Performance

The results of the ANOVA examining the variable, degree of instruction in listening, clearly show that there is a fairly significant relationship between listening performance and systematic instruction. The results in general are strongly supportive of the hypothesis that it is essential to teach students systematically how to listen to fast speech.

Listening Instruction Groups. As is shown in Tables 1 and 2, there are significant differences even at an alpha of .001 in the test scores among the listening instruction groups. Table 2 of the Scheffe test reveals that there is no significant difference in performance between Group 0 (no listening instruction) and Group 1 (CS listening instruction) and between Group 2 (FS listening instruction) and Group 3 (CS and FS listening instruction). This result suggests that instruction in listening to formal speech does not facilitate greatly the students' understanding of informal speech phenomena. It is only through systematic instruction in fast-speech phenomena that students can improve their aural comprehension of fast, informal speech.

The overall effect of fast-speech instruction is not significantly different from that of the combination of careful-speech and fast-speech instruction, which implies that there is no significant additive effect to be gained from CS instruction when it accompanies FS instruction in the matter of interpreting fast-speech phenomena.

Table 1
ANOVA for test scores according to level of listening instruction

Source	**d.f.**	**SS**	**MS**	**F**
Between	3	38994.84	12998.28	301.98*
Within	693	29828.67	43.04	
Total	696	68823.51		

* $p < .001$

Table 2
Scheffe tests for difference in test scores according to level of listening instruction

Mean	**Group**	**Grp 0**	**Grp 1**	**Grp 2**	**Grp 3**
5.75	Grp 0				
7.84	Grp 1				
21.92	Grp 2	*	*		
22.16	Grp 3	*	*		

(* pairs of groups significantly different at alpha = .01)

Fast-Speech Listening Instruction Group. As is clearly indicated by Tables 3 and 4, there is a significant difference among the subgroups of those receiving fast-speech listening instruction even at an alpha of .001. Such instruction is closely related to improvement in aural comprehension skill. The length of the study is markedly proportional to the level of performance, which demonstrates the positive effect of systematic training in listening to informal speech.

Table 3
ANOVA for test scores according to level of listening instruction

Source	d.f.	SS	MS	F
Between	3	42789.80	14263.27	379.77*
Within	694	26064.82	37.56	
Total	697	68854.62		

* p < .000

Table 4
Scheffe tests for difference in test scores according to level of listening instruction

Mean	Group	Grp 0	Grp 1	Grp 2	Grp 3
6.70	Grp 0				
17.81	Grp 1	*			
23.38	Grp 2	*	*		
27.01	Grp 3	*	*	*	

(*: pairs of groups significantly different at alpha = .01)

Careful-Speech Listening Instruction Group. Tables 5 and 6 indicate that there is no significant difference among the CS-instruction subgroups at an alpha of .05. Careful-speech instruction does not seem to complement nor supplement performance on the micro-listening test of fast-speech. It can be inferred that instruction in listening to careful speech does not guarantee that L2 learners can pick up fast-speech phenomena rules on their own.

Table 5
ANOVA for test scores according to level of listening instruction

Source	d.f.	SS	MS	F
Between	3	661.59	220.53	2.24
Within	693	68161.91	98.36	
Total	696	68823.51		

Table 6
Scheffe tests for difference in test scores according to level of listening instruction

No two groups are significantly different at alpha = .01.

Fast- and Careful-Speech Listening Instruction Groups. In order to identify the relationship between FS and CS instruction in terms of their effect on the students' performance, a two-way ANOVA was employed. The results displayed in Table 7 clearly conform to the previous findings. FS instruction has a significant effect on fast-speech listening performance.

The overall increase in the score, proportional to the increase in CS and FS instruction, indicates that with the combination of CS and FS instruction, one appears to complement the effects of the other on listening performance. It is interesting, however, to note that in Table 8, for those who are in the FS Group 2, a general decline in their performance is shown as the degree of CS instruction increases. Even though the reason is not clear, CS instruction in this case is somehow counterproductive.

The mean scores for the groups with different degrees of both CS and FS instruction are underlined in Table 8.

Table 7
ANOVA for test scores according to level of listening instruction

Source	**d.f.**	**SS**	**MS**	**F**
Between				
FS	3	42731.78	14243.93	391.98*
CS	3	634.61	211.54	5.82*
FS X CS	9	683.66	75.96	2.09
Within	681	24746.47	36.34	
Total	696	68823.51	98.88	

* p < .01
(FS = fast-speech listening instruction;
CS = careful-speech listening instruction)

Table 8
Cell means for test scores according to level of listening instruction

FS	**CS Instruction**			
Instruction	Grp 0	Grp 1	Grp 2	Grp 3
Grp 0	5.75	6.41	8.55	7.00
Grp 1	16.94	18.29	20.57	20.30
Grp 2	24.18	20.60	18.83	21.50
Grp 3	26.71	26.00	25.38	32.43

Effect of AFKN Exposure on Performance

A study of the impact that AFKN broadcast listening can have on students' fast-speech listening skills reveals that a combination of exposure to fast, spoken English input and systematic FS instruction facilitates aural comprehension, but that mere exposure to aural input without FS instruction does not seem to aid aural comprehension.

AFKN Exposure with No CS or FS Instruction. Table 9 shows that even though the scores of students who have had no listening instruction slightly increase with each increment of exposure to AFKN, there is no significant difference in performance among the four exposure groups (Table 10). The results clearly indicate that simple exposure to language input with no systematic listening instruction does not facilitate aural comprehension.

Table 9
ANOVA for test scores according to level of exposure to AFKN

Source	**d.f.**	**SS**	**MS**	**F**
Between	3	55.90	18.63	1.12
Within	224	3734.14	16.67	
Total	227	3790.04		

Table 10
Scheffe tests for difference in test score according to level of exposure to AFKN

No two groups are significantly different at alpha = .01.

AFKN Exposure with Fast-Speech Listening Instruction. It is obvious from Tables 11 and 12 that FS listening instruction greatly enhances the effectiveness of exposure to live input. The pedagogical implication may be that systematic instruction should go hand in hand with live aural input to maximize its instructional effectiveness.

It is also worth mentioning that there is no significant difference between Groups 2 and 3, and between Groups 0 and 1. The reason that there is no significant difference between Groups 2 and 3 might be that it does not take much time (at most two months) for the average learner to grasp the linguistic rules of fast-speech phenomena, even though the amount of time it will take to internalize all the rules via the auditory image may vary from individual to individual.

Table 11
ANOVA for test scores according to level of exposure to AFKN

Source	**d.f.**	**SS**	**MS**	**F**
Between	3	4351.09	1450.36	25.39*
Within	189	10796.17	57.12	
Total	192	15147.25		

* p < .0000

Table 12
Scheffe tests for difference in test score according to level of exposure to AFKN

Mean	**Group**	**Grp 0**	**Grp 1**	**Grp 2**	**Grp 3**
14.74	Grp 0				
20.00	Grp 1				
24.90	Grp 2	*	*		
28.97	Grp 3	*	*		

(* denotes pairs of groups significantly different at alpha = .01)

AFKN Exposure with Careful-Speech Listening Instruction. Tables 13 and 14 show that, according to their exposure to the AFKN, there is no significant difference among the four groups who received CS instruction. As in the case of the no-listening instruction group, CS instruction does not greatly reinforce the effect of exposure to AFKN input on listening comprehension.

It is also interesting to note that the number of no-listening instruction students who watch AFKN is relatively much smaller than the number of FS-listening instruction students. This may have to do with the motivation factor, that is, students receiving instruction in fast-speech listening may well be more highly motivated to be exposed to AFKN than those receiving instruction only in careful-speech listening.

Table 13
ANOVA for test scores according to level of exposure to AFKN

Source	d.f.	SS	MS	F
Between	3	28.04	9.35	.3860
Within	192	4649.24	24.21	
Total	195	4677.28		

Table 14
Scheffe tests for difference in test score according to level of exposure to AFKN

No two groups are significantly different at alpha = .01.

AFKN Exposure with Fast- and Careful-Speech Listening Instruction. It is difficult to make a generalization based on the analysis of these results because the sample size was too small. Table 16 shows that there is no significant difference among the subgroups which have received both FS and CS instruction. It may be that the effect of FS instruction is so great, and the contribution of CS instruction so small, that no amount of exposure to AFKN can distinguish the subgroups.

Table 15
ANOVA for test scores according to level of exposure to AFKN

Source	d.f.	SS	MS	F
Between	3	691.87	230.62	3.15
Within	69	5052.16	73.22	
Total	72	5744.03		

Table 16
Scheffe tests for difference in test score according to level of exposure to AFKN

No two groups are significantly different at alpha = .01.

Relationship between AFKN Exposure and the Instruction Variable. The statistics from Tables 17 and 18 support the hypothesis that students do not make use of exposure to input without instruction. The fact that no significant difference appears between the no-instruction group and the CS-instruction group strongly suggests that improvement in the aural comprehension of fast-speech is only achieved by instruction focused on listening to fast-speech.

It is also worth mentioning that the FS-instruction subgroups exposed to AFKN more than one month performed slightly better than the subgroups which had both CS and FS instruction for more than one month. This phenomenon is yet to be explained. It may be rather hasty to jump to the conclusion that CS instruction is counter-productive. This result, however, does suggest that instruction in listening to careful speech alone does not contribute to one's aural comprehension of informal, fast-speech.

Table 17
ANOVA for test scores according to level of exposure to AFKN

Source	**d.f.**	**SS**	**MS**	**F**
Between				
LI	3	27173.21	9057.74	251.94*
AF	3	2715.00	905.00	25.17*
LI X AF	9	2411.90	267.99	7.45*
Within	674	24231.70	35.95	
Total	689	68509.14	99.43	

* p < .000
(LI = Listening instruction group; AF = AFKN exposure)

Table 18
Cell means for test scores according to level of exposure to AFKN

Instruction		**AFKN Exposure**		
Group	Grp 0	Grp 1	Grp 2	Grp 3
Grp 0	5.50	5.61	6.40	7.46
Grp 1	7.63	8.24	7.65	8.71
Grp 2	14.74	20.00	24.90	28.97
Grp 3	19.17	19.95	21.83	27.47

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Heretofore, it has been generally assumed that students would pick up naturally an ability to understand the spoken message as they acquired some command of English pronunciation. Therefore, just as young English-speaking children learn to understand the spoken language as they are exposed to it, so too would L2 learners. Consistent with Brown (1977), this study shows first that the assumption of untutored absorption is wrong. There is a significant difference (at a = .001) between the test achievement of L2 learners exposed to systematic instruction in fast-speech phenomena and that of those who were not exposed to such systematic instruction. Students who were exposed to systematic instruction in listening to fast, spoken English significantly outperformed those without such training. The results also reveal that exposure to the slow, formal style of English does not greatly facilitate the students' comprehension of the fast, informal style of speech. This finding suggests that we must teach comprehension of fast, spoken English in a systematic manner if our goal is to have our students understand such speech.

Secondly, the study indicates that while simple exposure to fast, spoken English input with no systematic listening instruction does not significantly facilitate aural comprehension, instruction in listening to fast, spoken English combined with exposure to live input significantly (at a = .0000) enhances learners' listening comprehension. This suggests, in terms of a pedagogical implication, that systematic FS instruction should go hand in hand with live aural input in order for the instruction to have its maximum impact on students.

Many current commercial listening materials are spoken at an artificially slow pace using prestige dialects that are not typical of ordinary speech. They are often oral readings of written material articulated in a precise acting style, lacking the pauses and self-corrections of natural speech. The value of listening materials should be examined in the light of Krashen's (1980) proposal that authentic learning experiences should provide an opportunity for acquisition; that is, they should provide comprehensible input which requires the negotiation of meaning and which contains linguistic features a little beyond the learner's current level of competence. Furthermore, such materials should play a role in bridging the gap between the language heard in ESL/EFL classrooms and the real language spoken by native speakers in real-world situations. In this respect, broadcasts such as AFKN in Korea provide an excellent source of authentic aural input for L2 learners, especially in countries where native informants are not readily available.

It is obvious that the phonetics of fast-speech phenomena constitutes only a part of the information processed by the complex listening system. It should be pointed out, however, that unless L2 learners are equipped with the rudimentary micro-skill to process this kind of phonological information, they will not be likely to possess the macro-skill to successfully process the larger chunk of oral information. While struggling to figure out how the message is pronounced and resorting to a wild guessing game to comprehend the message, they will fail to hold up their part in the communicative interaction. To avoid perpetuating such problems, it is time that we realize that teachers can make an important contribution in this area. They can in fact meet students' needs by providing students with systematic instruction and practice in listening to real-world English.

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NOTES

[1] Possibly 95 percent of all spoken English is heard in normal, informal situations (Sittler, 1975, p. 120). Even a national president or a university professor speaks informally the bulk of the time (Madsen & Bowen, 1978).

[2] The style of pronunciation described in many pronunciation courses is called *slow colloquial.* Normal informal speech is, in many respects, quite different from slow colloquial, i.e., there are many features of slow colloquial speech which regularly disappear in informal speech (Brown, 1977, pp. 1-11).

[3] The everyday unconscious speech of cultivated people - of those in every community who carry on the affairs and set the social and educational standards of those communities (Kenyon and Knott, 1973).

[4] It should be noted that the term comprehension in the present study refers to lexico-syntactic understanding rather than the understanding of the overall meaning of an utterance.

[5] The American Forces Korea Network is a combination of TV and radio broadcast designed to provide information and entertainment for the servicemen and their dependents stationed in Korea.

[6] The dichotomous categorization of styles of speech in English--slow colloquial (careful or formal) and conversational (fast or informal)--is a vast oversimplification. There are certainly more than two styles of speech; indeed they are infinite in number since they have no definable boundaries, each merging imperceptibly into the next (Brown, 1977, p. 7). In this study, however, fast, informal speech will be described as though it were a homogeneous style standing in opposition to a careful, formal style of speech.

[7] For a more systematic discussion of this phenomenon, refer to Dickerson (1985, pp. 303-316).

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IDEAL 5, 1990

LEARNING STYLES OF MAINLAND CHINESE STUDENTS OF ENGLISH

Carolyn Dirksen

Second language learning procedures in the Chinese classroom are conditioned both by the Confucian educational tradition and the national examination system. These two influences have also shaped the learning styles of Chinese students. This research reports the results of a learning styles inventory self-reported by 1076 students studying English as a foreign language in China. The findings indicate that, while the stereotype of the lecture/textbook-centered Confucian scholar still has some validity, modern Chinese students are open to newer methods and prefer styles of learning which represent radical departures from Chinese tradition. Questionnaire data revealed preferences for tactile and kinesthetic learning as well as a preference to master subject matter independently. In contrast, students with increased exposure to foreign teachers showed greater divergence from a projected Western learning styles model and somewhat greater similarity to traditional Chinese preferences.

In a typical Chinese classroom, the students wait silently on their backless stools until the teacher enters the room and steps briskly onto the stage and behind the lectern. "Stand up!" directs the monitor, and the class snaps to its feet. After exchanging a ritual greeting, the class sits and the teacher begins the lecture. There are no questions from students and no class discussion. The lecture moves rapidly, and students write furiously, attempting to capture a complete written record of the teacher's words. Because students will be graded solely on their performance on the final examination, they leave the classroom ready to memorize their notes in preparation for giving them back verbatim at the end of the term.

Although still the norm in China, this formal classroom seems almost an anachronism to Westerners more accustomed to easy give and take between students and teachers and more familiar with a student-centered approach to learning. However, education in the People's Republic of China grows out of the Confucian tradition in which the teacher is the supreme authority, and the students are passive recipients of information. For almost 2000 years, Chinese education focused on the Confucian classics, and a man was a scholar if he had committed the entire canon to memory. He was then able to answer any questions and settle any disputes concerning balance in society and appropriate behavior (Hou, 1987).

Because education focused on a finite amount of information (i.e., the classics) it could be memorized, and since the classics were considered to contain all the relevant principles for maintaining society properly, education centered on those texts. Quite naturally, then, the scholars who had memorized the texts were the knowers, and the students who had not memorized them were the empty vessels seeking knowledge. The high importance of the classics also focused attention on the written word and fostered a profound respect for the language of literature as opposed to the language of daily speech. Therefore, it is quite reasonable that Confucian education should center on the teacher, the text, and the grammar of the language and that memorization should be the primary mode of learning (Hou, 1987). Since 1949, the stated purpose of education has shifted drastically from maintaining proper social order to "serving the people and the revolution" (TEFL in China, 1987, p. 40). Nevertheless, Confucian tradition runs deep in Chinese society and, while Confucianism is no longer the stated model for education, its influence is still felt.

In comparison, education in the West, and particularly in the United States, has been developing along lines established by John Dewey and other educational philosophers. These foundational philosophies have contributed to a TESOL methodology which sees the student, not the teacher, as central, which focuses on the development of skills rather than on the memorization of the textbook, and which attempts to prepare students to speak English appropriately with native speakers rather than to master the grammar of a finite body of literature. These two radically different approaches to teaching/learning collide when Westerners go to China to teach English to Chinese students in their homeland.

Because the learning environment for Chinese students has been dramatically different from that of students studying in the United States, it is reasonable to assume that their learning styles might also be different. As recent TESOL research indicates, an understanding of students' learning styles is central to the development of appropriate teaching methods. A considerable amount of learning styles research has been done with international students and immigrants studying in the United States. One goal of that research has been to discover ways of assisting such students in their attempt to assimilate so that they can be successful in a North American learning environment. In contrast, the study reported here has attempted to discover a learning styles profile for Mainland Chinese students of English so that appropriate materials can be prepared for teachers going into a Chinese teaching situation.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

English Teaching in China

As increasing numbers of "foreign experts" have entered China to assist with the modernization, the Chinese have attempted to explain Chinese learning styles to Westerners to reduce confusion in the classroom. Explanations are provided by Hou (1987) and Yang Suyang (1987). Both of these authors describe the Confucian underpinnings of Chinese educational style, point out ways in which Western teaching styles are in conflict with those traditions and discuss methodologies which might be successfully accommodated by Chinese students learning from Western teachers. Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (1986) provides an insightful history of foreign language teaching in China, suggesting that traditional grammar/translation methods are commonly used in China because of the rigid examination system rather than because of the echoes of Confucianism.

Language Learning Styles

Research into learning styles began when educational theorists became interested in investigating cognitive style. Witkin (1976), Witkin, Moore, Goodenough and Cox (1977a), and Witkin, Moore, Oltman, et al (1977b) did research on field dependence/independence as a means of perceiving and processing information. In another vein, Kagan (1966) and Kagan and Messer (1975) investigated "conceptual tempo," comparing learners who were reflective to those who were impulsive. More closely related to this study, Hill (1971) examined "cognitive style mapping," a referencing of preferred kinds of media and instructional strategies. Kolb (1976, 1984) described individual students' approaches to learning as accommodators, divergers, convergers, and assimilators. Grasha (1980) categorized students as independent, avoidant, collaborative, dependent, competitive, and participant.

During the 1970s cognitive studies moved into a more applied realm as Dunn and Dunn (1972) developed a self-reporting learning styles questionnaire which identified the kinds of media and types of instruction preferred by elementary school students. Dunn (1983, 1984) and Reinhart (1976) identified four perceptual learning modes: visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile.

Research on second language learning styles began in the mid 1970s and has focused on cognitive styles and on learning strategies, but little of this research has attempted to link learning styles with cultural traits, and most of the research has been done with mixed populations studying English as a second language rather than as a foreign language. Wong (1985) is one exception, and his study is particularly relevant to the research reported here because his population was Asian.

A few studies have focused on altering methods to meet the learning needs of non-native speakers. Birckbichler and Omaggio (1978) contend that students employ different learning strategies as task demands change, and they also support identifying student learning styles and developing methods which accommodate the styles of individual learners. Hosenfeld (1979) also contends that teaching should adapt to the learning styles of the students in the second language classroom. Cautionary notes are sounded by Corbett and Smith (1984) and by Doyle and Rutherford (1984) who contend that learning styles inventories may not be valid and that research is difficult to replicate. Similarly, Cohen (1984) suggests that learning styles inventories should be supplemented with the input of trained observers.

Reid (1987) developed a self-reporting learning styles inventory specifically for use with non-native speakers and examined more than 1000 responses, noting some differences in style which correlated positively with the country of origin. While research into the learning styles of non-native speakers has flourished over the past decade, little attention has been given to non-native speakers learning English outside the context of an English-using culture. It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to provide data on Mainland Chinese students learning English in their homeland.

PROCEDURES

Questionnaire Design

The first task in approaching learning styles research in China was to design an appropriate questionnaire. Three self-reporting questionnaires were examined, and strengths of each were adopted. One questionnaire, designed especially for non-native speakers (Reid, 1987), served as a model for language proficiency level. The second model was designed for junior high school students (Mesa Public Schools, 1985) but was considered useful because it assessed the four perceptual learning modalities--auditory, visual, tactile, and kinesthetic. The third was designed for college students and assessed cognitive categories including participant, avoidant, competitive, cooperative, dependent, and independent. The composite questionnaire contained fifty questions stated within the vocabulary of intermediate non-native speakers and was intended to assess both perceptual and cognitive modes.

Ten learning modalities (auditory, visual, tactile, kinesthetic, independent, dependent, participatory, avoidant, collaborative, and competitive) were included with five statements designed to test the preference for each. Response choices ranged from "strongly agree = 1" to "strongly disagree = 5." Therefore, a total of 5 for a particular modality indicated the highest possible preference for that modality for each category, and a total of 25 indicated the strongest possible aversion. The questionnaire allowed students to indicate indecision by responding with a 3. For each learning modality totals ranging from 5 through 11 were considered to indicate preference; scores from 12 through 18 indicated indecision, and scores from 19 through 25 were considered to indicate some degree of aversion to the style measured.

Data Collection

Copies of the questionnaire were distributed to Americans and Canadians teaching in China. Teachers agreed to participate on a voluntary basis and requested a total of 3000 questionnaires. After four months, 1076 valid questionnaires had been returned.

Population

Students from 16 colleges and universities participated in the study, including institutions in Jiangsu, Hunan, Sichuan, Inner Mongolia, Shaanxi, Jilin, Jiangxi, Hubei, Hebei, Shandong, and Henan provinces. Of the 1076 students in the study, 39 were agriculture majors; 61 were engineering majors; 795 were English majors, 62 majored in medicine; and 119 were from classes which served a variety of majors. There were 199 freshmen, 292 sophomores, 311 juniors, 14 seniors, 86 graduate students, 132 middle (i.e. secondary) school teachers, and 42 college teachers. Some 391 had had no previous exposure to a foreign teacher; 335 had had one year; 306 had had two years; and 44 had had three years.

Data Analysis

Frequency distributions were calculated for each variable (class, major, and amount of exposure to foreign teachers), and cross tabulations were computed to compare learning styles preferences in terms of the major variables. Chi squares were also calculated but were not used as the sole indicator of significance because of the number of cells with fewer than 5 cases.

FINDINGS

Overall Profile

Of the four perceptual learning styles included, the Chinese students as a whole indicated the strongest preference for kinesthetic learning (73%) and the weakest preference for auditory learning (28%). The preference for kinesthetic learning is surprising given the usual constraints of the Chinese classroom, typically conducted in the most rigid lecture style. In contrast, students in the study indicated appreciation for activities such as role play, experiments, and "free chats" with the foreign teacher. The limited enthusiasm for the auditory mode is not surprising since Chinese education focuses on reading, and aural skills in second language learning are often neglected. Some 67% indicated a preference for tactile involvement stating that they learned better when they made maps and drawings and when they did class projects, and 62% of the participants indicated a preference for visual learning.

Of the cognitive modes, students expressed the strongest preference for participant learning (76%), indicating that they find class sessions worthwhile, are eager to learn, do their best, sit where they can hear clearly, and do assignments as soon as they are given. While lack of anonymity on some answer sheets might have contributed to the strength of this response, most teachers of Chinese students would agree with the earnest, dedicated profile indicated by this preference. Similarly, participants indicated the strongest aversion to the avoidant mode. Only 6% indicated that they were avoidant; i.e. that they found it difficult to pay attention in class, hoped the teacher would not call on them, did not pursue information they did not understand, or found classes boring.

Some 68% indicated a preference for a collaborative style, indicating that they liked to study with others for examinations, felt that students should tell their teachers when the class is not going well, liked to hear other students' views, and appreciated class discussion. In contrast, 49% indicated that they were competitive, tried to be first to answer questions, wanted to do better than others in the class, only helped others when it did not hurt them, and tried to do assignments better than others. Given the general cultural emphasis on the group as opposed to the individual, it is not surprising that there was a strong preference for collaboration.

Although 55% indicated that they were independent learners, 49% indicated strong dependence on the teacher. Since the questionnaire did not force a choice between these two modes, they were not mutually exclusive, and the apparent paradox of being both is entirely possible in the Chinese system. Some students are very dependent on teachers in the classroom, considering them to be unquestionable authorities, expecting them to assume responsibility for structuring learning, and not appreciating class discussion which takes time away from lecture. At the same time, they may be quite independent learners outside the classroom learning English by listening to the radio, studying what is important to them whether or not it is stressed in class, forming their own opinions, and working on their own. Chinese students have very little choice in what they study, so many of them pursue their own interests outside the rigid curriculum of the universities.

In summary then, Chinese students as a group appeared to prefer kinesthetic/tactile learning experiences and to have most difficulty with the auditory channel. They appeared to have good motivation and a positive attitude and combined the skills of dependent and independent learning even though they were slightly stronger as independent learners. They were somewhat more comfortable working with rather than against their classmates.

Analysis by Student Classification

An examination of groups within the 1076 student total revealed some interesting differences in strategy. The total population was divided into four major student groups: undergraduates, graduates, middle school teachers and college teachers. Each group was examined for learning style preference. The auditory mode, again, was the least preferred, and--of the four groups--graduate students exhibited the strongest preference for this mode (35%) and undergraduates indicated the weakest preference (27%). College teachers exhibited the strongest preference for the visual mode (66%), and middle school teachers indicated the least preference (59%). College teachers indicate a 72% preference for tactile learning, and graduate students expressed only a 55% preference.

In the cognitive modes, college teachers were the most strongly participant with a 94% preference. Undergraduates exhibited the weakest preference for participant learning with 74%. Similarly, college teachers indicated the strongest aversion to the avoidant mode (80%), and middle school teachers exhibited the weakest aversion at 46%. Graduate students were the most independent (61%), while college teachers were least independent with only a 38% preference. In contrast, middle school teachers were most dependent with a 57% preference, and college teachers were least dependent with a 46% preference. Middle school teachers were most collaborative (75%), and college teachers were least, indicating a 60% preference. Undergraduates were most competitive with a 51% preference, and middle school teachers were least competitive with a 34% preference.

Of the four groups, college teachers form the most interesting profile. They are both the least independent and the least dependent. They are also the most participant and the least avoidant as well as the least collaborative. Perhaps because of their age in comparison to the other groups and because of their position in the Chinese educational system, they come closest to the traditional picture of a Chinese scholar--the eager, committed learner who accepts the word of the teacher unquestioningly but also does independent study and relies on his/her own resources rather than cooperating with others.

English Majors Compared to Non-Majors

Since English majors constituted the largest group in the study (795 or 74%), they were compared to all non-English majors. There was very little difference between English majors and non-majors in the four perceptual styles. However, the cognitive styles showed some interesting differences. The greatest difference was in the competitive mode where English majors expressed a 51% preference and non-majors expressed only a 41% preference. English majors also appeared to be somewhat more independent with a 57% preference compared to the non-majors' preference of 49%. They were also somewhat less dependent with a 47% preference compared to 55% for non-majors. Surprisingly, they were also somewhat more avoidant with only a 44% aversion response compared to 52% for non-majors, and they were somewhat less favorable to the participant mode with 74% preference response compared [illegible]% for non-majors. Therefore, English majors were more collaborative, more competitive, more independent, and less dependent than their non-major counterparts. They were perhaps more collaborative and less dependent on their teachers because of their greater facility in the language and more competitive because, in China, job placement often depends to some extent on rank in class.

Exposure to Foreign Teachers

Predictably, students who had spent more time in the classrooms of native speakers had stronger preference for the auditory mode. Only 28% of those with no previous exposure expressed a preference for auditory learning while 34% of those with 3 years' exposure did. Other perceptual modes showed little or no consistent change. The cognitive modes indicated some surprising changes, however. Since Western education stresses critical thinking and independence from the teacher far more than does Chinese education, it was surprising that only 48% of those students with no previous exposure to foreign teachers expressed a preference for dependent learning, but 57% of those with 3 years' exposure expressed such a preference. Similarly, one would predict that the student-centered techniques of Western teachers would increase the students' receptivity to the participant mode. On the contrary, 81% of the students with no previous exposure expressed a preference for participation while only 57% of those with 3 years' exposure expressed a preference. Only 3% of those with no exposure expressed support for an avoidant strategy while 38% of those with 3 year's exposure were avoidant. Western education also stresses group work, but 70% of the students with no exposure were collaborative compared to only 57% of those with 3 years' exposure. While 52% of those with no exposure were competitive, only 43% of those with 3 years' exposure exhibited this preference.

In short, students with longer exposure to Westerners and Western methods were more dependent, more avoidant, less participant, and less collaborative. It is perhaps stretching the data to draw assumptions from this, but it appears that Chinese students increase in their rejection of Western methods as they spend more time in a Western classroom. These data have implications for the adaptation of Western methods to the Chinese setting.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Projected Model

After examining the Confucian approach to education and spending some time in a Chinese classroom, one would predict that Chinese students would prefer the auditory and visual modes and would not express a strong preference for tactile or kinesthetic learning since education in China is primarily a matter of listening to lectures and reading or memorizing textbooks. One might also predict that Chinese students would express a preference for dependent learning and that they would be collaborative and participant learners as opposed to independent, competitive and avoidant. Much of this profile is born out by the data in the study, but much of it is also sharply contradicted.

The first surprise in the data was the overwhelming support for every learning modality except the avoidant category. Even in those few categories where students did not express a clear preference, they expressed minimal aversion. In fact, the percentage of students expressing an aversion to any modality other than avoidant seldom reached more than 10% regardless of the subpopulation under consideration. However, the "undecided " category accounted for a surprising number of responses. For example, 68% of those students with one year's exposure to foreign teachers were undecided about their attitude toward the auditory mode.

Nevertheless, even if a significant portion of the undecided responses were negative rather than positive, the profile still indicates a strong preference for kinesthetic and tactile learning. The positive response of students in the study to methods not commonly used in the Chinese classroom could indicate the students' real desire for change.

In the cognitive modalities, Chinese students were understandably collaborative. It was also no surprise that they manifested a strong preference for the participant mode. Part of this can be attributed to the high value placed on education in Chinese society. It can also be explained partly by the fact that the questionnaires were given to students in colleges and universities, and, in China, only a very elite minority of students gains access to higher education. Those who do have proven themselves to be "good students" who have learned to cooperate well with the system. The only surprise in the cognitive category was students' somewhat strong preference for independence. This is not in keeping with the Confucian model which calls for students to rely totally on the teacher; however, this tendency was somewhat contradicted by a similarly strong preference for dependence.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TESOL METHODOLOGY IN CHINA

Judging from the evidence in this study, the American teacher going to China will find a receptive group of students with a desire to try new learning channels. Teachers should make every attempt to supplement oral presentations with visual aids and with plans for student involvement in making models, drawing maps and pictures, and doing role play.

The most cautionary note sounded by the data was in the reaction of students with extended exposure to foreigners. While teachers going into classes which have had foreign teachers before might expect them to be closer to the Western model in their preferred learning styles, such students have increased in their avoidant tendencies, are more competitive, and are more dependent.

For the Chinese student, performance on national, standardized examinations is all important, and since these examinations are written by Chinese professors who use a traditional grammar/translation method, they seldom test the skills taught by the foreigners. As the author of TEFL in China notes ". . . every teacher of English must understand that the major objective of English teaching in China is the development of the student's ability to read and study on his own, and that the secondary objective is the development of listening, speaking, and translation skills" (p.70). Probably most foreign teachers consider oral/aural skills to be at least as important as reading. This mismatch of expectations between teachers and students could, in part, account for the apparent change in attitude of students with extended exposure.

Whatever the circumstances of the foreign teacher in China, it is important for him or her to have as much understanding of the Chinese educational system and of individual Chinese learners as possible. Continued investigation of Chinese learning styles and further dialogue with Chinese methodologists will be invaluable as increasing numbers of Americans and other English speakers are drawn to China as teachers. Successful teaching in China, it seems, depends upon the teacher's willingness to disregard stereotypes of the Chinese student as well as ethnocentric attitudes toward the "correct method" of teaching English as a foreign language. The development of methods appropriate for the Chinese student and the Chinese classroom must begin with a thorough understanding of the learning styles of Chinese students studying English in China.

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ENGLISH <S>:

CRACKING A SYMBOL-SOUND CODE

Wayne B. Dickerson

The nineteenth letter in the English alphabet, <s>, appears in more than one-quarter of all English words,[1] a number that would be even higher if all the nouns were pluralized and all the verbs were inflected for the third-person singular, present tense. The high frequency of <s> in the lexicon combined with its duplicitous nature creates serious problems for learners of English when they encounter this graph in written words. Why is it ***goose*** /s/ but ***gosling*** /z/, ***so close*** /s/ but ***closed*** /z/, ***museum*** /z/ but ***coliseum*** /s/? In short, when does <s> signal a voiced sibilant (/z/ or /ž/), and when does it signal a voiceless sibilant (/s/, /š/, or /č/)?

As basic as this question is, there is no reliable or comprehensive guidance available to learners or their teachers. This study takes the first important step toward providing the needed help; it cracks the symbol-sound code. Starting with a large corpus of contemporary <s> words and the distribution of /s/ allophones in Old English, the research uncovers the complete rule set in effect in Modern English. The second step—already in progress—is to devise ways to bring this information to learners in a usable form.

INTRODUCTION

In English orthography, only four spellings regularly send ambiguous messages to readers with respect to the voicing of their sound correlates: <ex-> (/eks/ or /egz/),[2] <-ed> (/t/ or /(ə)d/),[3] <th> (/θ/ or /ð/),[4] and <s> (/s/ or /(ə)z/).[5] This fact raises a practical question particularly in the minds of learners of English as they attempt to read novel words: Should I pronounce this spelling as a voiced or a voiceless sound? Even with effort, ESL/EFL teachers will not find an simple answer to this question because none exists at this point in the history of the English language. For the beginnings of an answer, the teacher must pass the question to an applied linguist with an ESL/EFL orientation.

The applied linguist sees the question in two parts, analysis and application. The analysis part concerns the discovery of regularities that govern the symbol-sound correspondences between a spelling and its oral possibilities. The application part is the task of translating descriptive information into pedagogically usable rules.

Some progress has been made on the analysis-application fronts with all four spellings. In the case of <s>, however, only pieces of the total puzzle have been investigated up to now; no unified treatment of the <s> system can be found in the literature. The purpose of this paper is to report on an investigation that cracked the code linking <s> systematically to its various pronunciations. The discovery of a high order of predictability in the system should hold out hope to ESL/EFL teachers that applications of this discovery will enable them to help their students determine with accuracy the sound of <s> in spelled words.

THE ESL/EFL ORIENTATION

In a number of important ways, the ultimate use of this research, namely for advanced learners of English, shaped the way the investigation was conducted.

First, the corpus of <s> words studied was drawn from a university-level resource, *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (1983). In all, more than 40,000 words were examined, the entire collection of <s> words in the dictionary.

Second, the technical study proceeded under the same constraints governing the development of practical learner rules, namely, the No Prior Knowledge Assumption (Dickerson, 1981). At no point did the analysis rely on information that was ultimately unavailable to the linguistically naive users of rules derived from the analysis. Rule writing employed no information about words—their uninflected shape, their derivational history, their syntactic function, their meaning, or their pronunciation—other than what was available from surface clues or could be deduced from context, such as part-of-speech information. The reason for limiting the use of special knowledge is to make the transition easier between a full technical description and its pedagogical application.

Third, although the rule framework used in the research is that of generative phonology, namely, an underlying representation of words serving as the input to transformational rules that generate a surface phonetic form, orthographic analysis makes simplifying changes in every part of the model, anticipating the next stage of application. The underlying representation is the common spelling of a word as it occurs in context; this is what the learner has access to. The transformational rules for spelling have a form that is more transparent than what is found in the technical literature; descriptive spelling rules are stated like learner rules. Finally, the surface output is an orthography-based transcription readily usable by learners, but far indeed from bundles of distinctive features.

All of these factors—the source of the corpus, the operating assumption, and the representational devices—kept the learner-consumer and his or her capabilities uppermost in the research from the start.

PRELIMINARIES

Orthographic Word Class

This study takes its basic methodology from the sound-change research of Labov (1972) in which the starting point is the target group of words under scrutiny. Labov calls this group a **word class.** Applied to orthography, the corpus is an **orthographic word class** (Dickerson, 1975). It consists of all words with a particular spelling, in this case <s>. The only spellings excluded from this set are <sh> and <sch> words which form orthographic word classes themselves.

The only words excluded from the <s> word class are proper nouns only because they tend to be less constrained by language conventions and more subject to individual whim, e.g. *Sean* /š/, *Grosvenor* Ø. The <s> parts of compound nouns, compound adjectives, compound verbs, and compound adverbs are treated as separate entries in the word class. Thus, *fireside, lovesick, eavesdrop,* and *cocksure* are not members of the <s> word class, while *side, sick, eaves,* and *sure* are.

Rules

In Labov's sound-change model, word classes disintegrate over time in an orderly fashion, as subgroups of words having the same environment start being pronounced in a way different from other words in the class. The function of rules is to state the environment of each break-away subgroup and how the words in the subgroup are pronounced. Rules formalize the correlation between an environment and a variant pronunciation.

In orthographic research, the rule stating a symbol-sound correlation for consonants is a **consonant correspondence pattern,** or **con–cor pattern** (Dickerson, 1985a,b). On the left of the pattern is the word class spelling, in this case <s>, surrounded by environmental information sufficient to identify the group of words pronounced with a particular variant. Next is an equals mark, =, meaning 'predicts'. On the right of the pattern is the variant or variants predicted, stated in pedagogical symbols.

The notational devices used to represent environmental features succinctly will be introduced with each rule but are summarized in Appendix A for convenience.

Because of their design, con-cor patterns can be written most efficiently when certain ordering conventions are observed. In particular, a pattern that has greater detail in its environmental description applies before a pattern with lesser detail. Earlier rules prevent some words from being subject to later rules, a convention known as 'disjunctive ordering' (Kenstowicz & Kisseberth, 1979, pp. 347ff). In this sense, earlier rules tend to be filters for later rules. The result is that patterns coming late in the sequence can be stated with great simplicity. For example, the last con-cor pattern in the set is s = -s-. Although its form is simple, its final position implies the absence of all other environments filtered out by preceding patterns. For this reason, the rule is referred to as the 'otherwise case'. Rule ordering will be discussed in greater detail at the end of this paper.

Variant Pronunciations

The output of rules is a pronounceable segment or Ø, silence. Of the four sounds ordinarily associated with <s>, /s/ as in *subsist* is by far the most common. After this, in order of decreasing frequency, <s> also represents /z/, /š/, and /ž/, as in *rose*, *emission*, and *occasion*, respectively. Minor variants are /č/ and Ø, as in *mansion*, *viscount*.

Using pedagogical symbols, these variants are transcribed in the following way:

/s/ = -s-
/z/ = -z-
/š/ = -sh-
/ž/ = -zh-
/č/ = -ch-

On occasion, identical pronunciations will be predicted for adjacent spellings. When this happens, only one of the predictions is pronounced. For example, if rules predict -s- for each <s> in an <ss> string, only one -s- will be pronounced.

Sometimes the predicted alveolar -s- pronunciation will change under the influence of a following alveopalatal -ch- or -sh-. Next to -ch-, an -s- may become palatalized to -sh-, as in *question* and *gesture*, creating alternate pronunciations. Before -sh-, an -s- becomes -sh-, as in *omniscience*, and loses its uniqueness.

A Brief History of Sound and Symbol

From the best historical reconstructions available, it appears that Anglo-Saxon or Old English had a single alveolar sibilant phoneme, /s/, with two allophones in complementary distribution according to environment. The [z] allophone occurred between vowels or between a vowel and a voiced consonant. The [s] allophone was used everywhere else (Cassidy & Ringler, 1971, pp. 17, 100; Moore, 1965. p. 20).

A variety of sound mergers, as well as perhaps foreign borrowings, caused the /s/ phoneme to split into /s/ and /z/ during the late Old

English or early Middle English period, encouraging the adoption of the letter <z> from Greek (Williams, 1975, p. 332).

From the beginnings of the Roman alphabet, the symbol <s> or <ᛋ>—one of its earliest forms—has had a particularly unremarkable history. It has been used with much the same sound value no matter which language group appropriated the Roman alphabet for its own purposes. English is no exception. The letter <s> (and runic <ᛋ> carved on megaliths all over England) appears in the earliest records and was used with the same sibilant values it has today.

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCE PATTERNS

On the assumption that Modern English retains the remnants of the Old English voiced-voiceless dichotomy, the research strategy was to start investigating the pronunciation of <s> along the lines of the ancient environments. Although the research began with stems, the results are reported here using the linear position of <s> in a word as the organizing plan—(1) <s> in pre-stem attachments, (2) prefix-influenced stem-initial <s>, (3) <s> in stems unpressured by external attachments, (4) suffix-influenced stem-final <s>, and (5) <s> in suffixes.

<s> in Prefixes and Formatives

The English lexicon contains numerous prefixes of Anglo-Saxon and Latin origin and formatives of Greek origin. At least a dozen of these are spelled with <s>. Surprisingly, generalizations about <s>, developed in a study of stems, did not make accurate predictions at first for <s> in some of these pre-stem attachments. Mispredictions arose primarily at the boundaries of prefix (or formative) and stem; pseudo-environments created out of prefix-stem strings matched monomorphemic stem environments. To avoid these problems, <s> prefixes and formatives were removed from their stems and analyzed as separate units. Under these conditions, the stem analysis applies equally to pre-stem morphemes. The step of identifying these morphemes and separating them from their stems is so important for the analysis that it has become the beginning strategy. The following is a preliminary statement of this strategy.

> As a first step in the analysis, separate <s> prefixes and <s> formatives from stems and treat them as independent words, applying the same rules to them that apply to stems in general.

The following is a listing of <s> prefixes and formatives. They conform exactly to the patterns that apply to nonprefix and nonformative elements.

Initial <s> Prefixes

se–	(Lat) is -s-.	*prosecute, desecrate*
sub–	and all alternate forms (*su–*, *sup–*, *suc–*, *suf–*) (Lat) are -s-.	*resuscitate, suppress*

Final <s> Prefixes and Formatives

chrys–	(Gr) is -s-.	*chrysalis*
dis–	(Lat) is -s-.	*disrupt, disbelief, disinherit* **disease*, **diseuse*, **dismal* and **dissolve* are exceptionally -z-.
dys–	(Gr) is -s-.	*dysgenic, dysrhythmia*
gas–	(Lat) is -s-.	*gasify*
juris–	(Lat) is -s-.	*jurisdiction*
legis–	(Lat) is -s-.	*legislature*
lys–	(Gr) is -s-.	*lysome, lysogenic*
mis–	(AS) is -s-.	*misguided, misunderstood*
trans–	(Lat) is -s/z- before V/C_{vd}.	*translation*
trans–	(Lat) is -s- before C_{vl}.	*transport*

Medial <s> Formatives

iso–	(Gr) is -s-.	*isometric, isotope*
miso–	(Gr) is -s-.	*misology*
physi–	(Gr) is -z-.	*physiology, physician*

Pseudo-environments are created not only by <s>-final prefixes and formatives, but also by the final *o* linking vowel of formatives before stem-initial <s>.[6] In the interest of an accurate and simplified rule system, all formatives such as *agro–*, *photo–*, *lipo–* and *philo–*, must be recognized and removed from stems. Incorporating this refinement into the analysis strategy, we have:

> As a first step in the analysis, separate <s> prefixes, <s> formatives, and all *o* formatives from stems and treat them as independent words, applying the same rules to them that apply to stems in general.

This strategy is well motivated at the technical level and produces clear dividends. However, it may not seem so adaptable at a practical level, particularly the facile recognition of final-*o* formatives. Yet, science students, for whom there are already good reasons to become familiar with final-*o* formatives, may gain additional benefits from information about the pronunciation of <s> in this environment (Dickerson, 1989a, unit 3, pp. 156-158).

Influences on Stem-Initial <s>

Virtually without exception, <s> at the beginning of words is voiceless and conforms to the otherwise <s> case, s = -s-, as in *seven* and *summary*. A departure from this pattern would be a stem-initial <s> pronounced as -z-. Such a situation arises when certain prefixes touch a stem-initial <s>.

One rule alone handles cases of <s> voicing after prefixes. In Latin-origin words, stem-initial <s> followed by a vowel letter is pronounced as -z- after a vowel-final merged prefix.[7] The prefixes implicated in this change are the Latin-origin *de–*, *pre–*, and *re–*.[8] The Anglo-Saxon *be–* does not participate in this voicing rule. To identify the relevant prefixes, the pattern in (1) lists the prefixes explicitly and indicates their merged status with *m*. Unlike the stem rule, VsV (below), stress on the vowel before <s> is irrelevant to the prediction, as the examples show. Chomsky and Halle (1968, p. 228[119(a)]) discuss this pattern in detail.

(1) $\left\{\begin{matrix} de \\ pre \\ re \end{matrix}\right\} m + \underset{..}{\mathrm{s}}\mathrm{V} = \text{-z-}$ *desértion, desírable, prèsentáion, presúmption, résidue, resúlt*

Eleven words, in (1x) below, have an exceptional -s- pronunciation.

(1x) *désiccate, désiccant, desiccátion, desíccatory, préaage, resérpine, research, researchist, reséct, reséction, resúpinate*

The strategy of treating each <s> prefix as an independent word subject to ordinary <s> rules applies to cases like *desecrate* and *resuscitate*. Their internal merged prefixes (*se–* [before *c*, *d*, *l*, *v*] and *su–* [before *sc*, *sp*, *st*]) prevent them from being exceptions to rule (1). The strategy does not work, however, in the case of *resurrect* and *resurrection;* rule (1) applies despite the internal prefix *sur–*. These words are therefore exceptions, along with those in (1x).

Rule (1) describes the behavior of merged vowel-final prefixes. Neutral, "look-alike" prefixes do not have the same effect on <s>-initial stems. Compare the merged and neutral prefixes in the words below.

-z-			-s-	
resolve	'to clear up'	vs	*resolve*	'to solve again'
reserve	'to hold back'	vs	*reserve*	'to serve again'

To use rule (1), it is clear that a learner must be able to identify prefixes and distinguish those that are merged from those that are neutral, two tasks that may put off this particular rule to a point late in the learner's curriculum.[9]

<s> in Stems

As stated in the historical sketch above, two major environments elicit a voiced rendering of <s>: between two vowels and between a vowel and a voiced consonant. These environments govern the outline of this section on stems.

<s> between two vowels. To be more precise about the ancient environment as it is reflected in Modern English, *s*-voicing occurs intervocalically primarily after a stressed vowel.[10] In orthographic terms, the stressed vowel may be represented by a single vowel letter or by a vowel digraph. Let us consider each possibility in turn.

The first intervocalic voicing environment involves a single vowel letter carrying stress. The vowel following <s> may be part of a weak ending (+W) or simply another stem vowel (V); the effect is the same. (See Appendix A for information on weak endings.) The two subcases, (2)a and (2)b, are collapsed into a single rule in (2)c, using the '/' notation. The examples are only a sampling. Chomsky and Halle (1968, p. 228[119(b)]) offer a rule similar to the one in (2)c. Their rule, however, is overly constrained, requiring a tense vowel rather than a stressed vowel of indeterminate tenseness.

(2)a $\acute{V}$s+W = -z- ***advísor, advísory, brisánce, búsiness, búsy, cósy, delúsory, demíse, derísory, dispósed, divísor, envísage, illúsory, incísor, míser, nósy, príson, recúsancy, ríse, rísen, rósary, róse, suppósed, surpríse, úsance, vísigoth, vísine, vísor,*** all V*sal* nouns (***perúsal***), ***wísent***

(2)b $\acute{V}$sV = -z- ***ánalỳse, bésom, bósom, chísel, clóset, depósit, divísible, exquísite, fúsible, gangósa, gìsárme, grisaîlle, hésitant, hósel, imprísoп, indivísible, ísinglass, lósel, míserable, mòsáic, mósey, mùséum, músic, páralỳse, phýsical*** (and ***physi–*** derivatives), ***pósitron, províso, repósitory, rósin, vísible, vísit***

(2)c $\acute{V}$sV/+W = -z-

For practical purposes, rule (2)c must come late in the pedagogical presentation because of the word-stress skills the learner must develop before using the rule.

Rule (2)c makes extremely accurate predictions. The exceptions, listed in (2x), are surprisingly few; they are pronounced with -s-.

(2x) *bóson, chase, erésol, crùsáde, dósage, dóse, hýson, memósa, mésa, máson, péso, písiform, prednísolone, trísomy*

The exceptions in (2x) are few because several clearly definable environments become filters and apply before rule (2)c. One pair of filters handles anomalies surrounding the spelling *–sit–*. In the first, the word-internal spelling of *–ous* retains its -s- pronunciation before *–ity*, as in *mónstrous* → *monstrósity* → *monstrósities*, despite the stressed vowel before <s>. This behavior can be described in relation to the <y> of *–ity* and the second <i> of *–ities*. These are 'terminals', spellings on words of three or more syllables that signal an antepenultimate stress (Dickerson 1989a, unit 3, pp. 45f). In (3) below—a rule with no exceptions—+T means 'before a terminal'.

(3) o̤sit+T = -s- *animósity, porósity, viscósities*

The second anomaly with *–sit–* is the -z- pronunciation of <s> after an unstressed vowel, an exception to the otherwise rule. This phenomenon, although occurring only with the stems *–posit–* and *–quisit–*, involves dozens of words. Rule (4) captures this set perfectly. The raised dot is a position marker designating the beginning of a word or the position after a prefix. The 'X' signifies any number of consonant letters or none at all.

(4) ·XVsit = -z- *àcquĭsítion, pŏsítion, preréquĭsite, áppŏsite*

Another pair of filters takes care of final *se#* adjectives and nouns. The adjective rule, in (5), is for words like *concíse, obése,* and *profúse*. It is framed in such a way as to exclude adjectives like *amusing* and *accused*. *Wise*, however, is an exception.

(5) V̇se#$_{A}$ = -s- *abstrúse, close, diffúse, obtúse, precíse*

The more restrictive noun counterpart of (5) is in (6). It accounts for the contrasts commonly noted between *to abuse* and *the abuse, to use* and *the use*. Although they are nouns, neither *an abuser* nor *a user* conforms to rule (6) because there is no *–e#*. Two mispredictions exist—*muse, ruse*—both pronounced with -z-.

(6) u̇se#$_{N}$ = -s- *cerúse, excúse, hypótenùse, nonúse, overúse, réfùse*

A final filter involves an especially interesting environment in that particular consonant-vowel sequences before the <s> appear to insist on a following -s-. All kinds of stressed *bas* and *cas* spellings are involved.

Words like *móccasin, caúcasoid, basílica,* and *basált,* however, are subject to the otherwise rule because the *a* in each case is not stressed. The rule in (7) has no exceptions.

(7) b/cásV/+W = -s- *báse, básic, básin, básofil, bàsophília, debásement, kielbása, cáseate, càseátion, encásement*

In short, a few readily identifiable -s- pronunciations of <s> must be screened out before rule (2)c applies to them. A similar situation arises with stressed vowel digraphs.

The second intervocalic environment for *s*–voicing involves the stressed spelling, VV, by which is meant a vowel digraph representing a single vowel sound. A word like *bíased* would not fit this pattern.[11] In rule (8), the V and +W environments are collapsed as in (2)c. The presence of stress on the VV prevents words like *pórpoise, tórtoise,* and *jéalousy* from being exceptions. A sampling of illustrations is provided.

(8) V́VsV/+W = -z- *appeáse, appláuse, appraîser, blóuson, braise, bruise, browse, cáusal, càusátion, càuseólogy, chaise, cheese, cloìsonné, cóusin, cruise, daîsy, déasil, diseáse, drówsy, éasel, éasy, féasible, geýser, house*$_V$*, liaîson, lóusy, malféasance, náusea, noîsy, óusel, pause, péasant, phéasant, pláusible, pléasant, pléasantry, please, poise, poîson, praise, quéasy, raîsin, raîson, réason, séason, tease, thóusand, tréasonous, trouse*$_V$*, vendéuse, vichyssoîse, wéasand, wéasel*

The exceptions to rule (8) are given in (8x); they are pronounced with -s-. Except for words based on the three *eas* stems below, *eas* spellings uniformly cue a voiced rendering of <s>.

(8x) *(de–, sur–)cease, (de–, in–)crease, (re–)léase, eïsegésis, geese, sausage, obeîsance, paîsa, nuîsance, to grouse, to souse, to vamóose, hóosegow*

As before, we must filter out several spellings that are regularly pronounced as -s-. These are *–oose* and *-ouse* when they occur in nouns and adjectives. Since all such spellings are stressed, no stress mark is required in the spelling. The rule in (9) makes accurate predictions for all but two words—*houses* and *trouse.*

(9) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{oose\#} \\ \text{ouse\#}\end{matrix}\right\}_{NA}$ = -s- *goose, mongoose, moose, caboose, loose, noose, papoose, calaboose, dormouse, house, louse, mouse, grouse, crouse*

Formulated as above, rule (9) excludes verbs and will not treat words like these as exceptions: *chooser* (N), *choosey* (N), *aroused* (A), *carousing* (N), *carouser* (N), *housing* (N), *trousers* (N).

The general and specific rules given in (2)c–(9) above allow us to account for certain contrasts and dialect variants that might otherwise seem arbitrary. In all the examples below, the first member of each pair fits rule (2)c or (8); the second member of each pair conforms to one of the filters (rules (3), (5), (7), or (9)), or to the otherwise case for <s>.

> **In a below, rule (2)c predicts –z– in the first member, while rule (9) accounts for the second member. In b, where *–ment* is a neutral ending, the first word reflects the work of rule (8), while the second is subject to rule (7). In c, the words differ by having stress on *–ise* in the first member and on *–vert* in the second member. Rule (2)c applies to the first member, while the otherwise rule accounts for –s– in the second. In the cases of d – h, rule (2)c handles the first in each pair of words, while the otherwise rule makes the prediction in the second. In i, (2)c insists of –z– in the first item, while the adjective rule of (5) handles the second. For j, (2)c does its work on the first, while the special *–ity* rule of (3) predicts –s– for the second member of the pair.**

a	*lose*	-z-	b	*éasement*	-z-	c	*advertísement*	-z-			
	loose	-s-		*básement*	-s-		*advértĭsement*	-s-			
d	*mùséum*	-z-	e	*herésiarch*	-z-	f	*vàséctomy*	-z-			
	colĭséum	-s-		*hérĕsiarch*	-s-		*văséctomy*	-s-			
g	*premíse*	-z-	h	*díŏcèse*	-z-	i	*to diffúse*	-z-	j	*compósite*	-z-
	prémĭse	-s-		*díŏcĕse*	-s-		*so diffúse*	-s-		*pompósity*	-s-

<s> between a vowel and a voiced consonant. The second ancient environment is minor by comparison with the first, the intervocalic environment. When <s> is preceded or followed by a voiced consonant it is predictably voiced in certain heavily constrained situations. In all cases, however, voiced consonants are easy to identify; they are represented by the letters <b, d, g, l, m, n, j, r, v, z>. Consider first voiced consonants before <s>.

Words like *answer, convulse,* and *morsel* show that <s> is not generally voiced after a voiced consonant. Rather, *s*–voicing is limited to two-syllable *sy* and *sey* words. The two-syllable specification is important in order to exclude words like *controversy* and *minstrelsy*. To state the length requirement succinctly, we use the subscript 2Σ for 'two syllables'.

Since all of these words have penultimate stress, an indication of stress is unnecessary. The pattern in (10) has excellent reliability; only ***hors(e)y*** is pronounced with -s-.

(10) $C_{vd}s(e)y_{2\Sigma}$ = -z- ***clumsy, flimsy, guernsey, jersey, kersey, kerseymere, palsy, pansy, phrensy, quinsy, slimsy, sudsy, tansy, whimsy, woodsy***

While rule (10) sandwiches <s> between a voiced consonant and a vowel, rule (11) sandwiches <s> between a vowel and a voiced consonant. On the basis of available data, the voiced consonants that follow <s> are ***b, d, g, l,*** and ***m***. The rule, however, applies only to noninitial clusters; the <s> clusters in ***slow, smell,*** and ***snuggle*** are exempt because the sC_{vd} string follows a vowel letter, not the 'dot' position. As indicated by the parentheses, the vowel letter may be part of a VV spelling pattern.

(11) $V(V)sC_{vd}$ = -z- ***–ism, cósmos, gósling, grislier, húsband, méasles, méasly, múslin, phósgene, plásma, rasbóra, trísmus, wísdom***

As it stands, rule (11) makes correct predictions in nearly all cases. Since (11) applies to all ***–ism*** words, the percentage of correct predictions is quite high. Exceptions to this pattern, given in (11x), are the kind that might be expected. One is of foreign origin, and four contain <s> of spurious origin with silent pronunciations.

(11x) ***smórgasbord, ísland*** Ø, ***ísle*** Ø, ***deméane*** Ø, ***mesne*** Ø

The generality of rule (11) shows again why it is important to isolate <s>-final prefixes and formatives from stems. In many cases, the pseudo-environments created by pre-stem attachments would erroneously call up rule (11). For example, the <s> in the ***legis–*** of ***legislation***, the ***juris–*** of ***jurisdiction***, the ***mis–*** of ***misguided***, the ***dis–*** of ***disdain***, and the ***dys–*** of ***dysgenic*** would be mispredicted.

The environments of ***s***–voicing in stems have been presented above. Words not filtered out by the preceding rules are subject to the otherwise case, rule (12), the last in the rule set.

(12) s = -s-

Exceptions to this final pattern are given in Appendix C together with additional exceptions that appear in the following discussion.

Influences on Stem-Final <s>

At the ends of stems, <s> is affected dramatically by three sets of suffixes. One set we call strong iV-sequences; the second is spelled with what we refer to as y-ful spellings; the third is simply *–ive*. The behavior of <s> before these suffixes is defined quite accurately by the following patterns. Chomsky and Halle (1968) also provide an analysis of consonants before iV-sequences (pp. 238[2], 239[13], 242[25, 26], 244[37]), before an inserted -y- (p. 244[37]), and before *–ive* (p. 244[39]). However, they disregard all variability.

The first set of suffixes, strong iV-sequences, consists of all strings of the letter <i> followed by <a, o, u> or <enC>. Distinguishing a strong iV-sequence from an iV-sequence is the presence of at least one syllable to the left. For example, *trivial* has a strong iV-sequence, but *vial* does not. See Dickerson (1989a, unit 2, pp. 151f) for a more extended discussion of this point.

(13)a ns+iV = -sh/ch- *mánsion, diménsion*
b rs+iV = -zh/sh- *excúrsion, convérsion*
c Cs+iV = -sh- *revúlsion, permíssion*
d Vs+iV = -zh- *invásion, adhésion, explósion*

From the point of view of voicing, the subrules in (13) fit the expected pattern. A <Cs> (in (13)a,c) is a reliable guide to a voiceless sibilant, while <Vs> (in (13)d) is a dependable signal of a voiced sibilant. In (13)b, however, opinion is split. This is one of only two rules predicting variability between voiced and voiceless sibilants, a manifestation of British and American English differences. British English speakers see the postvocalic glide as more consonant-like, while American English speakers take it to be more vowel-like.

The variability in (13)a arises from the variable presence of an epenthetic -t- inserted between <n> and <s> (Dickerson, 1989b, unit 2, p. 92).

The strong iV-sequence rules operate at a high level of accuracy. The exceptions in the present corpus are the following in (13x). The first three have unpredictable voicing. The remainder have predictable voicing but are not palatalized as expected.

(13x) *abcíssion* -zh-, *recíssion* -zh-, *tilándsia* -z-; *carnásial, césium, desmopásia, dysrósium, eclámpsia, intelligénsia, panglóssian, paróusia, plésiosaur, polydípsia, potássium, rickéttsia, symphýsial*

Instances of words like *aphósiàc, aphrodísiàc, àsiátic, ecclèsiástic, ecdýsiàst, enthúsiàsm, epìsiótomy,* and *kinèsiólogy* with their -z-pronunciations, are not exceptional. The patterns in (13) are for unstressed iV-sequences; the presence stress on the iV-sequence tends to block palatalization or to create -z/zh- variability.

An interesting word pair illustrates the interaction of rules so far. The pair is *Vénus* – *Venúsian*. Rule (12), the otherwise case, predicts the -s- pronunciation of <s> in *Vénus*, while rule (13)d, Vs+iV = -zh-, identifies the sound of <s> in *Venúsian*. But clearly, the two words are related. How did the voiceless -s- of *Vénus* become the voiced -zh- of *Venúsian?* Phonologically, a series of developments can be traced: A stress rule placed stress on the *u* of *Venúsian* preparing it to become voiced by rule (2)c. Then (13)d gave it its palatal shape.

The second set of suffixes involves 'y-ful' spellings (Dickerson, 1985a; 1989a, unit 2, pp. 35-37). These are vowel spellings identifying the position in which a prevocalic -y- is inserted. Y-ful spellings are any *eu* or *ew* spelling and any *u* vowel spelling except the *u* in uC#, uCC, *au*, and *ou*. When the y-ful spelling is unstressed after <s>, there is the possibility of palatalization as described in the patterns of (14).

(14)a ns+Y̆S = -sy/sh/ch- *sénsuous, comménsurate, cénsure*
b C̈s+Y̆S = -sy/sh- *préssure, físsure, íssue*
c Vs+Y̆S = -zy/zh- *tréasury, méasurable, cásual*

Again, the voicing of <s> is predictable. The -ch- variant in (14)a arises from the epenthetic stop, while all other variability in (14) represents British and American English preferences. The patterns in (14) make excellent consonant predictions. The only exceptions are words exhibiting less than the full range of variability: *cónsulate* -s-, *ínsulate* -s-, and *ínsulin* -s-, or a different range: *rásure, erásure* -sh/zh-.

The third case of a change-producing suffix is *–ive*. The variable behavior of <s> before *–ive* occurs when a stressed vowel or <r> precedes the <s>, as described in rule (15). The rule is noteworthy because it is the second rule to involve voiced-voiceless variation. The exceptions are *-ive* words that are nonvariable: *decísive* and *pláusive* are pronounced with -s- and -z-, respectively.

(15) V/r̤s+ive = -z/s- *abrásive, advérsive, cohésive*

<s> in Suffixes

The strategy introduced for prefixes and formatives applies to suffixes as well. We now expand it to accommodate all affixes:

> As a first step in the analysis, separate <s> affixes (except {Z}), <s> formatives, and all *o* formatives from stems and treat them as

independent words, applying the same rules to them that apply to stems in general.

A survey of <s> in suffixes shows that they conform to the otherwise case in most instances, whether they are neutral or nonneutral.[13] A collection of such suffixes is provided for reference.

Neutral Suffixes: Rules (12) and (16)

–less	*bloodless, voiceless, numberless*
–ness	*rudeness, neighborliness*
–some	*awesome, foursome, burdensome*
–ster	*gangster, mobster, barrister, minister*
–sis	*crisis, basis, analysis, prognosis*
–s is -s- or -z-.	*locks, strays, beaches*
–'s is -s- or -z-.	*cop's, robber's, judge's*

Nonneutral Suffixes: Rule (12)

–is	*bronchitis, metropolis, epidermis*
–us	*impetus, esophagus, campus*
–ous	*monstrous, ludicrous, numerous*
–eous	*gaseous, aqueous, courageous*
–ious	*cautious, melodious, prodigious*

Neutral and Nonneutral Suffixes: Rules (2)c, (11), and (12)

–wise	*clockwise, likewise, endwise*
–ase is -s- or -z-.	*peptidase, sucrase*
–ese is -s- or -z-.	*Chinese, Burmese, journalese*
–euse	*masseuse, accoucheuse, mitrailleuse*
–ism	*euphemism, tribalism, vandalism*
–ist	*violinist, botanist, linguist*
–ose$_N$ is -s- or -z-.	*dextrose, sucrose, cellulose*
–ose$_A$ is -s-.	*comatose, pollinose, verbose*

The rules for predicting the sound of the third-person singular, present-tense verb ending and the plural noun ending are given in (16). Unlike other suffixes, {Z} morphemes cannot be isolated from their stems because stem information is crucial for determining the voicing of the allomorphs. For this reason, the strategy above excludes {Z} morphemes.

The voiced (vd) consonants referred to in (16)b are those spelled, *b*, *d*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *j*, *r*, and *v*. The third rule in this set is the otherwise case, s = -s-, given again as (16)c. In contrast to this technical analysis, a pedagogical approach to the pronunciation of {Z} morphemes, in its most simplified form, avoids (16)b (Dickerson, 1990).

(16)a •-s = -əz- •*ce, ge, se, ze, che, she, xe*

b V/C_{vd}(e)-s = -z-

c s = -s-

To expand the rules in (16)a and (16)b to accommodate cases of <'s>—the genitive or the contraction of *is* or *has*—we can rewrite the generalizations as shown in (16)a' and (16)b'. The third rule remains the otherwise case, repeated as (16)c'.

(16)a' •-s/'s = -əz- •*ce, ge, s/se, z/ze, ch/che, sh/she, x/xe*

b' V/C_{vd}(e)-s/'s = -z-

c' s = -s-

The {Z} morpheme rules work well for hundreds of thousands of words. As <s> rules, those in (16)a' - c' even make correct prediction for Greek plurals as in words like *crisis – crises*. As morpheme rules, however, the rules do not predict the correct vowel pronunciation associated with such plurals, namely, -ēz-.

RULE ORDERING

Every rule in the <s> set is ordered. Either it comes before the last rule, the otherwise case, or it is the last rule. Some nonfinal rules, however, must be sequenced with respect to each other. We will explore these various internal orderings.

Before any rules apply, certain decisions must be made about prefixes, formatives, and suffixes. These questions must be answered:

- Does the word have <s> in a prefix or formative?
- Does the word have <s> in a suffix?
- If so, is it a {Z} morpheme?

If the answer to the first questions is, yes, we must remove the morpheme and treat it as an independent word. If the answer to the second question is, yes, we must answer the third question. We remove non-{Z} morphemes and treat them as free-standing words. {Z} morphemes, however, require special rules that take into account the nature of the stem-final sound. After answering these questions, we can make good judgments about <s> in all other positions.

Next, several rules may be applied anywhere before the end. ·XVsit = -z-, C_{vd}s(e)$y_{2\Sigma}$ = -z-, V(V)sC_{vd} = -z-, and the {Z} morpheme rules are of this sort.

Finally, most of the rules are related to others in strictly sequenced sets in which the most specific patterns are applied earliest as filters. These relationships have been discussed above. They are recapitulated in the sequence of rules given in Appendix D.

VARIABILITY AND EXCEPTIONS

For each word in the <s> word class, the rules above either predict accurately, predict one of several possible variants, or predict inaccurately. The presence of an extraordinarily large number of variable words and a remarkably small number of exceptions among <s> words deserves comment.

As this study progressed, it became apparent that the <s> word class is filled with words having more than one acceptable educated rendering. In fact, some the variability is so regular that it is built into the rules. Most of these variable words, however, are not rule-governed, being pronounced unpredictably with -s- or -z- or with some other combination of sibilants. For practical purposes, if the rules above predict one of the permissible variants of a word, that word is considered accommodated; ultimately, all a learner requires is one acceptable way to render a word. For technical purposes, however, a thorough accounting of the behavior of words in this word class is necessary. For this reason, variable words are listed in Appendix B.

Exceptions to the above rules can be explained variously. In the first place, language rules are rarely perfect predictors; language change, foreign borrowings, dialect differences, etc. introduce idiosyncracies, contradictions, and complexities beyond the capacity of simple rules to capture. Rules based on spelling, one step removed from language, may be even less perfect because of bizarre characteristics of the orthography. At any rate, some exceptions are inevitable. Secondly, a proportionately large number of exceptions may suggest an inefficient or insensitive set of rules. Although our rules may not be maximally efficient yet, they make few errors. Even if the number of exceptions were to climb above 100, they would still be only a tiny fraction of all the words to which the rules apply—fewer than 1 out of every 400 <s> words. However, with the hope that a study of these exceptions may reveal some regularities overlooked so far, we list the exceptions in Appendix C.

CONCLUSION

This study began with a simple question: Should the <s> in words be pronounced as a voiced or a voiceless sound? Our technical answer, while not comparably simple, has explored for the most part the reflection in spelling of language rules. As we have found, the orthographic counterparts of phonological rules are remarkably good predictors, particularly if pre- and post-stem attachments are removed and treated as independent words subject to the same rules.

In general, the research strategy has been to identify the most productive rules in the word class then find systematic filters to eliminate words that the productive rules would brand as exceptions. The most productive rule is the otherwise case, s = -s-. Its filters are *m*+sV, ṾsV/+W, V̇VsV/+W, ·XVsit, $C_{vd}s(e)y_{2\Sigma}$, and V(V)sC_{vd}. Filters for V̇sV/+W are the rules about *eas*, *bas*, *sity*, and V̇*se#* nouns and adjectives. Filters for V̇VsV/+W are the rules for *oose#/ouse#* nouns and adjectives.

An analysis of patterns, however, is only the first part of an applied linguist's task; the other is application. Fortunately, the entire system need not be translated into a pedagogically useful form before some value can come of the research. To date, about one-third of the rules above are being used by ESL students at various levels of ability at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. These are the suffix rules involving strong iV-sequences, y-ful spellings, and {Z} morphemes. Other, fairly direct applications are simply waiting to be introduced, such as these global generalizations: initial <s> is voiceless, <sV> after a stressed vowel is voiced, <s> after an unstressed vowel is voiceless, <sC> and <Cs> have a voiceless <s>, and <s> in prefixes, formatives, and endings are voiceless. The number of exceptions and examples from contradictory rules are minor by comparison with the number of correct predictions that issue from these points.

In the end, the simple question that initiated this study receives a number of simple and practical answers, made possible by coming to understand in depth how <s> works in English—by cracking the symbol-sound code.

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NOTES

[1] This figure is derived from two calculations: 6,080 <s> words appear in the 17,000-word corpus of Hanna, et al. (1966), well over one-quarter of the words. In *Webster's Dictionary* (1983:cover), that claims "almost 160,000 entries," this study encountered more than 40,000 <s> words, again somewhat more than one-quarter of the words.

[2] The principal allomorphs of {EX-} *from, out of* are (disregarding the exact quality of the vowel) /eks/ and /egz/. The /eks/ occurs before unstressed vowels and voiceless consonants (except *f*) ($e\underset{\cdots}{x}+\breve{V}/C_{vl}$ = -ks-), as in *expénd, extóll, éxĕcùte, èxĕgétĭcăl*. The /egz/ occurs only before stressed vowels and then only in alternation with /eks/ ($e\underset{\cdots}{x}+\dot{V}$ = -ks/gz-), as in *exíst, exált, exámine*. Before voiced consonants, the form of {EX-} is /e-/, as in *elope, evolve, emotion*. A study of these and other allomorphs can be seen in Dickerson (1989a, unit 2, p. 56).

[3] A full description of {D} morphemes is presented in Dickerson (1990).

[4] Rules for predicting the sound of <th> in words are given in Dickerson (1987) and include thV^{f} = -TH-, V/rth+B = -TH-, thern/· = -TH-, and th = -th-, in which -TH- and -th- represent /ð/ and /θ/, respectively.

[5] See Dickerson (1985b; 1989a, unit 2, p. 180, unit 3, p. 80; 1990) for rules relating to parts of the larger <s> picture.

[6] The *o* linking vowel that attaches Greek formatives to stems, as in *gaso–* and *philo–*, is more like a word boundary than a true vowel. In *gàsómeter* and *philósophy*, the <s> is pronounced as a voiceless sibilant, even though both words appear to conform to the voicing rule in (2)b below, VsV = -z-. The *o* at the end of *gaso–, iso–, miso–* is like an end-of-word boundary, excluding these cases of <s> from (2)c. Similarly, the *o* in *philo–, hypo–*, and *psycho–*, is like a beginning-of-word boundary, making <s>-initial stems subject to the otherwise case.

[7] The term **merged** refers to a prefix whose meaning in the word no longer contributes directly and explicitly to the meaning of the whole word, e.g. the *pre–* of *predicate*. Neutral prefixes preserve a distinct meaning of their own that is clearly apparent in the meaning of words with these prefixes, e.g. the *pre–* of *predisposed*. For a fuller discussion of merged versus neutral prefixes, see Dickerson (1989a, unit 2, pp. 4, 33-38, 73.)

[8] Is the environment prefix-specific or more generally a vowel-final prefix? Among Latin prefixes, ***se–***, the ***e–*** form of ***ex–***, and the ***su–*** form of ***sub–*** never precede an ***s***V stem. The ***co–*** form of ***con–*** is identifiable as a neutral prefix by attaching to independent stems. And ***pro–*** occurs before ***s***V when the ***s***V is the prefix ***se–***, or when the pronunciation of <s> is only or variably -s-. These observations suggest that the rule could represent the prefix as simply V, as in Chomsky and Halle's rule. However, since there is no clear way to designate Latin origin, thereby excluding the Anglo-Saxon ***be–***, the relevant prefixes appear in the rule. The result is a longer, but clearer con-cor pattern.

[9] Learners can identify prefixes successfully using surface information. See Chapter 2 in Dickerson (1989a, unit 2). Although the distinction between merged and neutral prefixes, in cases where the prefix shapes are identical (***pre–***, ***de–***, ***re–***, ***ex–***, ***dis–***, ***in–***, ***im–***, ***il–***, ***ir–***, ***pro–***, ***sub–***), requires prior knowledge on the part of learners, learners are told to assume the presence of the more frequent merged form unless context or other clues suggest otherwise. This is an imperfect but workable solution.

[10] Word stress is also accessible to learners of English through the medium of standard orthography, as demonstrated by Dickerson (1989a).

[11] Clear guidelines for distinguishing VV spellings (one underlying vowel sound) from V+V sequences (two underlying vowel sounds), using surface clues, is available in Dickerson (1989a, unit 1, p. 93, unit 2, p. 101, unit 3, pp. 102-104).

[12] Neutral endings begin with consonant letters. Nonneutral endings (Prefix Weak, V/VC Weak) begin with vowels. A listing of neutral and nonneutral endings can be found in Dickerson (1989a, unit 3, pp. 189-191).

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Appendix A

Notational Devices Used in Con–Cor Patterns

=	'predicts'
C	a single consonant letter
C_{vd}	a consonant letter representing a voiced consonant
C_{vl}	a consonant letter representing a voiceless consonant
X	any number of consonant letters or none at all
V	a single vowel letter
Σ	syllable
¯	over a vowel letter means a tense or long vowel
ˈ	over a vowel letter means a stressed vowel
´	over a vowel letter means a primary stressed vowel
`	over a vowel letter means a tertiary stressed vowel
˘	over a vowel means an unstressed vowel
+B	before a basic weak ending[†]
+T	before a terminal
+W	before a weak ending*
#	before a pattern signifies 'at the beginning of a word'
#	after a pattern signifies 'at the end of a word'
·	the raised dot before a pattern signifies 'at the beginning of a word or after a prefix'
·	the raised dot after a pattern signifies 'at the end of a word or before a basic weak ending'
/	the one symbol on the left may be replaced by the one symbol on the right
( )	the symbol or symbols enclosed are optionally present
^{f}	function word
m	merged prefix
$_A$	adjective part-of-speech
$_N$	noun part-of-speech
$_V$	verb part-of-speech

[†] A dozen basic weak endings (a subclass of weak endings) signal special behaviors in vowel and consonant rules. The endings are: *–able*, *–al* (noun-forming), *–e* (of verbs), *–ed*, *–en* (verb, adjective), *–er* (comparative), *–er* (agentive), *–est* (superlative), *–ing*, *–ish* (adjective), *–or* (agentive), and *–y* (adjective).

*A listing of weak endings can be found in Dickerson (1989a, unit 2, p. 179, unit 3, pp. 79, 158-166). A sample is given here: *–able*, *–al*, *–an*, *–ance*, *–ancy*, *–ant*, *–ary*, *–ed*, *–en*, *–ence*, *–ency*, *–ent*, *–er*, *–ery*, *–ing*, *–is*, *–oid*, *–on*, *–ory*, *–ous*, *–um*, *–ure*, *–us*.

Appendix B

Variability in the <s> Word Class

In order to limit this list, certain classes of systematic variability have been omitted: *trans*– + V/C_{vd}, V/rs:ive, ns:+iV, rs:+iV, stressed strong iV-sequences, all YS patterns, *–ase*, *–ese*, *–ose*$_N$.

-s/z-

absolve
absorb
absorption
absurd
amnesiac
analgesic
anisette
anosmia
arioso
asbestos
banausic
basal
basenji
basic
basil
basilar
basilica
basilisk
basipetal
benison
berserk
bismark
bison
blouse
blouson
bolse
brassiere
cassimere
crimson
delouse
delusory
desiderata
desideratum
desist
desolate
desolation
desorb
desultory
diesel
disable
disarm
disaster
discern
discernment
disdain
dismay
disorder
dowse
emphysema
epiphyseal
episode
episodic
episomal
episome
erase
ersatz
espouse
esurience
esurient
extrinsic
fantasy
fusillade
fuselage
gasoline
gooseberry
gossamer
grease
griseofulvin
hussar
hussy
infusoria
infusorian
jasmine
jettison
lasagna
leasing
louse
mafioso
maisonette
marcasite
marmoset
mausoleum
merchandise
mesarch
mesenchyme
mesentery
mesmeric
mesmerize
meso-
mimosa
missus
newspaper
nosologic
nosology
occlusal
opposite
orison
osmo-
paradisal
paradise
paradisiac
paradisiacal
parse
partisan
persist
persistent
persuasible
pessimism
pessimistic
pilsner
pimeson
pismire
planetesimal
poesy
ponderosa
possess
possession
possessive
possessory
prase
prednisone
presa
presbyter
presbyterial
presbytery
presentient
presidial
presidiary
presidio
presidium
prosit
prosodic
prosody
pusillanimity
pusillanimous
resorb
resorption
resorptive
resound
resource
ruse
sadomasochism
sadomasochist
sclerosing
seismic
seismogram
sesame
sesamoid
spouse
spousal

squamos̲el
steros̲ed
streus̲el
subs̲idize
subs̲idy
talisman
tousle
treatise
unison
usage
usnea
usufruct
usurp
valise
vase
venison
vigoroso
virtuoso
visa
vis̲-à-vis

-s/sh-

bestialize
celsius
digestion
discharge
disunion
disunify
disunity
dysuria
egestion
estuarial
estuarine
estuary
fascia
fistula
gesture
gestural
ingestion
question
sumac

-z/zh-

dionysian (z/zh/s/sh)
dyspros̲ium
Elysium
epimysium
gymnasia
gymnasium
hosiery
indusium
kinesthesia
magnesium
monochasium
naus̲eous (z/zh/s/sh)
osier
perimysium
sympos̲ia
sympos̲ium
us̲urious

-sh/zh-

Asian
erasure
Eurasian
fission
fissionable
Indonesian
magnesia
Malaysian
Melanesian
Micronesian
Polynesian
rasure
scission
zoysia

-s/ch-

rinse

-z/Ø-

marquis
pas
vis-à-vis̲

Appendix C

Exceptions to the Rule Set

-z-: *ámbsace, carnásial, casérn, césium, cleanse, dámsel, desmopásia, dessért, disáster, diseáse, diseúse, dísmal, dissólve, dysrósium, gesúndheit, houses, improvisátion, lens, límousine, muse, obsérve* (and derivatives), *plésiosaur, ráspberry, resurréct, resurréction, ruse, scissors, symphýsial, tilándsia, whímsical, wise*

-s-: *bóson, cease, chase, crease, crésol, crusáde, deceáse, decísive, decrease, désiccate, désiccant, desiccátion, desíccatory, dósage, dose, eclámpsia, eìsegésis, geese, to grouse, hóosegow, hórs(e)y, hýson, increase, intelligénsia, léase, máson, mésa, memósa, nuĩsance, obeĩsance, obésity, panglóssian, péso, písiform, polydípsia, potássium, prednísolone, présage, reléase, resérpine, research, researchist, reséct, reséction, resúpinate, rikéttsia, sáusage, smórgasbord, to souse, surceáse, trísomy, to vamóose*

-sh-: *crescéndo, sugar, sure* (and derivatives)

-zh-: *abcíssion, recíssion*

Ø: *bas–relief, ísland, ísle, deméne, malapropós, mesne, parti prís, precis, tapís, travois, vers, víscount*

Appendix D

The Order of <s> Con–Cor Patterns

Set 1

Separate <s> affixes (except {Z}), <s> formatives, and *o* formatives from stems, then treat each as an independent word.

1. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{de}\\ \text{pre}\\ \text{re}\end{matrix}\right\} m + \underset{..}{\text{s}}\text{V} = \text{-z-}$

Set 2

2. $\text{n}\underset{..}{\text{s}}\text{+iV}$ = -sh/ch- Before 3
3. $\text{r}\underset{..}{\text{s}}\text{+iV}$ = -zh/sh- Before 4
4. Cs+iV = -sh-
5. Vs+iV = -zh- Before 14
6. $\text{n}\underset{..}{\text{s}}\text{+Y}\breve{\text{S}}$ = -sy/sh/ch- Before 7
7. $\text{Cs+Y}\breve{\text{S}}$ = -sy/sh-
8. $\text{Vs+Y}\breve{\text{S}}$ = -zy/zh- Before 14
9. $\text{V/r}\underset{..}{\text{s}}\text{+ive}$ = -z/s- Before 14

Set 3

10. $\acute{\text{V}}\text{se\#}_{\text{A}}$ = -s- Before 14
11. $\acute{\text{u}}\text{se\#}_{\text{N}}$ = -s- Before 14
12. $\text{b/c}\acute{\text{a}}\text{sV/+W}$ = -s- Before 14
13. $\underset{..}{\text{o}}\text{sit+T}$ = -s- Before 14
14. $\acute{\text{V}}\text{sV/+W}$ = -z-
15. ·XVsit = -z-

Set 4

16. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{oose\#}\\ \text{ouse\#}\end{matrix}\right\}_{\text{NA}}$ = -s- Before 17
17. $\text{V}\acute{\text{V}}\text{sV/+W}$ = -z-

Set 5

18. ●-s/'s = -əz- Before 19

●*ce, ge, s/se, z/ze, ch/che, sh/she, x/xe*

19. $\text{V/C}_{\text{vd}}\text{(e)-s/'s}$ = -z-

Set 6

20. $\text{C}_{\text{vd}}\text{s(e)y}_{2\text{E}}$ = -z-
21. $\text{V(V)sC}_{\text{vd}}$ = -z-
22. s = -s-

IDEAL 5, 1990

THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH: PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

Molly Mack

In this paper, selected examples of the independence of and interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics research are presented. It is concluded that, in spite of a history of interaction with individuals in theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics research, those involved in language pedagogy still function too often independently of individuals in these fields. It is argued that interaction must occur among practitioners in these areas if progress in language pedagogy and linguistics is to be made.

INTRODUCTION

In the book, Language universals and second language acquisition (1984), Bernard Comrie has a chapter entitled, "Why linguists need language acquirers." While this chapter contains many useful examples of the application of findings from first- and second-language acquisition to linguistic theory, what is especially interesting is that Comrie deems it important to assert that linguists need language acquirers (in this case, to provide data relevant to linguistic theory). That he does so indirectly reveals the extent to which those involved in language pedagogy function independently of those in theoretical and applied linguistics.

In reality, however, language teachers have functioned both independently of and in conjunction with theoretical and applied linguists for many years. Thus, in the sections that follow, I shall provide selected examples of (1) the independence of and interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics and (2) the independence of and interaction between language pedagogy and applied linguistics. I shall then discuss reasons why independence prevails and I shall consider why interaction among practitioners in these fields should be encouraged.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to provide brief definitions of the relevant terms to be used herein.

By language pedagogy I mean all aspects of teaching and research devoted to understanding and improving the teaching of languages that are non-native to their learners. This approach to language is largely practical or, at least, has practical applications as its objective. It may be data- or theory-driven, and its focus is on the language learner.

By theoretical linguistics I mean that area of the study of language commonly understood to be the "core" of linguistics--the study of the systems of phonology, syntax, semantics and, more recently, pragmatics. The function of linguistic theory is, as Chomsky (1972) states, the discovery and description of the rules (or, more recently, of the principles and parameters) that underlie a user's knowledge of his/her language.

This approach to language is generally (although not necessarily) deductive, rationalist, and theory-driven, and its focus is on the language system.

By applied linguistics I mean that complex of endeavors based upon findings from quantitative or qualitative research and devoted to the understanding of linguistic behavior. This approach to language is thus generally (although not necessarily) inductive, empirical, and data-driven, and its focus is on the language user. (To avoid possible confusion arising from the several accepted meanings of the term, "applied linguistics," I shall use the term, "applied linguistics research," hereafter.)

These succint definitions are, of course, overly simplistic and hence inadequate. However, it is necessary for the purposes of this discussion to make a distinction between an approach to language that focuses on the learner and approaches that focus on language as a system or on language as it is reflected in human behavior.

LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY AND THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS

Independence

An early example of the independence of language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics may be found in the type of Latin and Latin-based language instruction that predominated throughout Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. Many language scholars such as Rasmus Rask, August Schleicher, Jacob Grimm, and Karl Verner were highly active at this time, assiduously conducting work in comparative linguistics in their search for diachronic patterns in the lexicons of European languages and in their formulation of sound laws (Lautgesetze). Such individuals well understood that all languages are complex systems of systems, with none inherently superior to any other.

Yet the insights of these linguists did not find their way into European or American language classrooms. Here teachers believed that Latin was the ideal language--singular in its purity and order--and one best taught through rote learning of the rules of grammar and the study of declensions and conjugations, and through translation and writing practice. Even when the teaching of vernacular languages began in the 18th and 19th centuries, they were taught using the methodological principles that characterized instruction in Latin, and textbooks accordingly presented language structures based upon the Latin model--whether or not the the model fit.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Latin-based approach to language study found shape in the Grammar-Translation Method--a teaching method which, by the 1960's, had few ardent supporters. Just as the older Latin-based approaches were carried out in near-total ignorance of linguistic theory, so too was Grammar Translation. For, although the 19th and 20th centuries witnessed tremendous gains in the understanding of linguistic theory by individuals such as Ferdinand de Saussure, Otto Jesperson, Henry Sweet, Edward Sapir, Roman Jakobson, Zelig Harris, and Noam Chomsky, their insights rarely survived (or even began) the journey to the language classroom.

Another example of the lack of interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics is drawn from relatively recent work in syntax in the principles and parameters model. This model, rooted in Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1986), is believed by many to be an approach to the analysis of language as radical and revolutionary as transformational generative grammar was thirty years ago.

Briefly, the model proposes that there exists a universal grammar (UG). UG is, according to Chomsky (1986) that set of innately (biologically) determined principles of language "which are fundamentally alike" across languages and which are "largely preformed, as much a part of our biological endowment as is the general organization of our body" (p. 272). In contrast to transformational generative grammar, which proposed a set of language-specific phrase-structure and transformational rules, this model proposes an enriched innate system of universal principles (which are *not* language-specific). Examples of these are cyclic rule application, island constraints, and the Subjacency Principle. What gives each language its unique form are differences in the settings of parameters whose values are binary (open/closed or unmarked/marked) and are set by experience. Thus, the parameter setting that determines pro-drop in Spanish is different from the parameter setting in English, which disallows pro-drop. What differentiates this approach from contrastive or error analysis is its predictive power. That is, a single parameter setting may control a range of superficially unrelated syntactic structures.

Given that the principles and parameters model is still fairly new, it is not surprising that language teachers are generally only marginally familiar with it. In fact, while the model is often tested using second-language acquisition data (Flynn, 1987; Phinney, 1987; Bley-Vroman *et al.*, 1988; White, 1990), no one has yet suggested that it may offer insights into the teaching (or learning) of a second language.

Interaction

An interesting example of interaction[1] between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics occurred in 1886 with the invention of the International Phonetic Alphabet (the IPA) by the International Phonetic Association. The IPA was designed to represent any sound of any language, thereby overcoming the limitations of language-specific sound-spelling correspondences. In fact, the IPA has been a valuable and widely used tool among phoneticians, linguists, and anthropologists for many years. It appears in Chomsky and Halle's 1968 landmark work, *The sound pattern of English* (in the phonetic forms of phonological derivations) and, more recently, in Geoffrey Pullum and William Ladusaw's book, *Phonetic symbol guide* (1986). In fact, most linguistics graduate students are required to take a phonetics course in which they learn the IPA.

But the IPA is not merely a convenient tool; it is a system based upon three implicit and *theoretically* significant claims: (1) Every sound in every human language can be represented with a finite number of symbols; (2) the human ear is sufficiently sensitive to perceive acoustic distinctions that can then be represented in close phonetic transcription; and (3) trained phoneticians should be able to produce identical or nearly identical phonetic transcriptions regardless of their native language (L1). (I seriously question claims 2 and 3, but discussion of these points is beyond the scope of this paper.)

In light of the theoretical importance of the IPA, it may come as a surprise that one of the earliest stated objectives of the International Phonetic Association, and one of the motivations for the development of the IPA, was the improvement of language teaching by providing "phonetic training in order to establish good pronunciation habits" (Richards and Rogers, 1986, p. 7). In other words, one of the principal objectives of the development of the IPA was pedagogical. The IPA was deemed to be a valuable medium through which second languages could be taught.

Another example of the interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics may be seen in the development of contrastive analysis (Fries, 1945; Lado, 1957). Contrastive analysis consists in comparing the structural (and possibly communicative) features of different languages. For example, a contrastive analysis of syntax in English and Spanish would reveal that pro-drop, as in Está lloviendo (*"Is raining") or Es difícil (*"Is difficult") is permissable in Spanish but not in English. Thus, for the linguist interested in investigating differences in the language of native and non-native speakers of English, contrastive analysis was deemed a valuable source of information with explanatory and, to some extent, predictive power. As Lado (1957) states, the theory of contrastive analysis is based upon the notion that in learning a second language (L2), "individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of the forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture" (p. 2).

Naturally, for the language teacher, it was believed that contrastive analysis could provide valuable insights into learner errors and methods of error correction. Thus, the source of a sentence such as, *"Explain me the meaning of this sentence," produced by a native speaker of French, could be understood readily if the teacher knew that the erroneous structure was a direct translation of the French expliquez-moi. Although contrastive analysis has fallen out of favor among language teachers in recent years, many still use it (perhaps unwittingly) whenever they attempt to understand or describe non-native "errors" by referring to analogous structures in their learners' native languages.

A third area in which language pedagogy and theory have interacted may be seen in creative construction. Proposed by Dulay and Burt (1974, 1978) in reaction to the limitations of contrastive analysis, this approach is based upon the premise that "erroneous" features in the learner's non-native system are not solely a reflection of linguistic transfer or interference from the native language. Rather, many of the features observed in non-native speech perception and production are similar or identical to those found in L1 acquisition. Hence, characteristics of forms observed among children acquiring an L1 are claimed to be found in L2 acquisition. Typical examples are syntactic simplification ("I go store"), consonant cluster reduction, ("spin" --> "pin") and epenthetic vowel insertion ("growl" --> "ga-rowl").

In courses devoted to second-language acquisition theory, explicit reference is often made to creative construction and its validity. Although this approach has probably been underutilized in the language classroom, it continues to be used by some teachers in their attempts to make sense out of apparently puzzling aspects of their students' linguistic difficulties. (It should be noted that, to the extent that the application of a creative construction approach requires detailed knowledge of child-language acquisition, language teachers may be at a disadvantage if they lack an understanding of processes involved in L1 acquisition.)

A final example of the interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics is a teaching method--the Audiolingual Method. This approach, developed largely in the 1950's, reflected the structural approach dominant in linguistic theory at that time. The structural approach has two basic premises: (1) Language can be analyzed as a system of components which may be described independently of one another and without recourse to subjective meaning or "mentalism" and (2) language is an oral, not a written, system.

These premises found pedagogical shape in the Audiolingual Method. In this method, the study of a foreign language was broken down into the components of language--phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics--and language instruction was primarily oral and aural. Ideally, a student was not expected to read anything which he/she had not already learned how to say or understand. It was this emphasis on the oral and aural aspects of language and a corresponding belief that language learning could be reduced to a stimulus-response mode that led to the decline of the Audiolingual Method in the U.S. in the late 1960's. Nonetheless, for better or worse, it was clearly a product of prevailing linguistic theory.

LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH

Independence

Most approaches to language pedagogy have developed independently of work in applied linguistics research (characterized by work in such areas as psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, and sociolinguistics). Two examples are the communicative-competence approach and English for Special Purposes. These are cited as particularly salient examples because both are widely used today.

A communicative-competence-based approach to language learning stresses communication and, more specifically, the mastery of the L2 to that level required for sufficient and effective communication (Savignon, 1983). Thus, while previous approaches have generally emphasized the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking, as well as the formal components of language (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and, in some cases, pragmatics), this approach takes a broader view of the language-learning task. For example, it stresses the need to understand language in context, thereby emphasizing the "rules" of English discourse, speech acts, and other pragmatic aspects of language use.

Advocates of a communicative-competence approach do not intentionally ignore applied linguistics research. (In fact, insights from this approach have enhanced the understanding of certain aspects of language study.) It is simply the case that only in recent years has serious linguistic research, primarily in sociolinguistics and pragmatics, been conducted that is directly relevant to this approach. It is expected that, as work in these fields continues, greater interaction between advocates of a communicative-competence approach and language researchers will result.

A related approach to language pedagogy is English for Special Purposes (ESP). ESP is a practical solution to practical needs and, as such, can include almost any aspect of language teaching. It could include, for example, ESL instruction for American-trained aircraft mechanics in Saudi Arabia who must be able to read English technical manuals; Japanese ESL teachers who read and write English fluently but who need to learn how to ask for directions on a street in San Francisco; or German control-tower operators who direct U.S. military aircraft and who must be able to understand acoustically degraded speech transmitted over aircraft radios. In the field of ESP, course materials may be designed on an ad hoc basis and may even consist solely of the set of materials and/or skills specifically needed by the learners.

With this approach, there is generally perceived to be little need for the findings of applied linguistics research, although such findings could potentially be quite relevant. For example, work in speech intelligibility (e.g., Mack, 1988) has revealed the extent to which non-native listeners find certain sounds particularly difficult to perceive when the speech signal is acoustically degraded. If the ESP teacher of a listening course were exposed to these findings, he/she could thus direct the learners' attention to such sounds in an effort to enhance learners' sensitivity to them.

Interaction

By the 1940's, Leonard Bloomfield had conducted a considerable amount of work with American Indian languages and, in doing so, maintained a rigorously scientific approach by concentrating on methodology and formal analysis (Robbins, 1967). So pervasive was Bloomfield's influence that, until the publication of Chomsky's Syntactic structures in 1957, the Bloomfieldian approach dominated American linguistics.

In the middle of the "Bloomfield era" came World War II with its attendant need for translators and interpreters. Hence, in 1942, the Army Specialized Training Program was established. An essential component of the training program was a pedagogical model used by Bloomfield to train his fieldworkers in their study of American Indian languages. This technique utilized the "informant method" in which a native speaker served as a source of information and students, guided by a trainer (a linguist) utilized an inductive process to learn the language in intensive course work (Richards & Rogers, 1986). Thus the "Army Method," as it was called, represented an obvious connection between an established research-based approach to linguistic study and a successful language-teaching methodology.

A second example of interaction between language pedagogy and applied linguistics research is found in the Natural Approach, as formulated by Krashen and Terrell (1983). One of the main assumptions underlying this approach is that L2 acquisition is (or can be) like L1 acquisition--i.e., L2 acquisition is (or can be) "natural." Thus, the role of the language teacher is to approximate L1 acquisition contexts by ensuring that the student receives sufficient input and that this input contains forms slightly above the student's current level of proficiency.

However, the assumptions upon which this approach is based are highly problematic. First, whether or not L1 and L2 acquisition are identical--or even similar--is still a matter of much debate. Second, even if L1 and L2 acquisition are similar, it is extremely difficult to determine that the types of structures selected for presentation in the classroom are truly analogous to those presented to a young child in his/her L1. And third, it is impossible for any classroom-based technique to replicate a naturalistic language-acquisition context. Nonetheless, in spite of its very serious limitations, the Natural Method at least reflects an attempt to relate applied linguistics research to classroom applications.

IN CONCLUSION: INDEPENDENCE OR INTERACTION?

Although examples have been cited above of the independence of and interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics research, it is my view that, at present, independence actually predominates.

First, with respect to the relationship between language pedagogy and theoretical linguistics, it is a commonplace that many linguists find the function of the language teacher irrelevant to the problem of understanding language. Hence, linguists may interact only minimally (if at all) with language teachers, and language teachers may likewise avoid contact with linguists. Second, in the field of syntax and, to a lesser extent, phonology, changes in theory seem to occur with daunting alacrity, making even the most conscientious teacher feel as if he/she cannot hope to keep pace with the latest developments. Even the language used in current theories--c-command, the Subset Principle, metrical and autosegmental phonology, theta-theory--may be unfamiliar to anyone who took his/her last linguistics course a "mere" ten years ago. Finally, many individuals involved in language pedagogy simply lack the time or interest needed to remain abreast of developments in contemporary linguistic theory.

Yet the claim that many individuals in language pedagogy lack exposure to theoretical linguistics begs the obvious question: Is it even necessary to understand current linguistic theory in order to be a good language teacher? Possibly not. But if a language teacher wishes to understand the multifarious aspects of language perception and production evinced by his/her students, that teacher would be wise to have at least a grasp of linguistic theory. This would not only enhance the teacher's view of the complexity of language qua language, but it could engender fruitful interdisciplinary research devoted to addressing such issues as the relevance of L2 acquisition data to current theories in phonology, syntax, and semantics.

Language pedagogy and applied linguistics research likewise exist largely independent of one another at present. One obvious reason is language teachers' lack of exposure to the tools of the applied linguistics trade. That is, the foundation of much current language research is the application of the scientific method, which, of necessity, entails hypothesis formation, data acquistion, data analysis and, increasingly, the use of statistical procedures. Indeed, Henning (1986) has stated that in 1970, 12% of the articles in TESOL Quarterly and 24% of those in Language Learning were based upon quantitative studies. In 1985, the numbers had risen to 61% and 92%, respectively. Yet many language teachers feel frustrated in their attempts to master even the rudiments of a research-based approach to language analysis since many of them have never taken formal courses or participated in independent study in research methods.

However, as the field of language teaching matures, it becomes increasingly apparent that an inability to understand research-based studies is not merely inconvenient; it is actually a roadblock in the path to making appropriate and enlightened decisions about various teaching methods, the interpretation of students' performance, and language testing.

Thus, leaders in the field of language pedagogy must determine to what extent theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics research should relate to the goals and practices of language teaching. I maintain that these areas should inform one another, and to a greater extent than they do now. Just consider how many 19th (and even 20th!) century students could have been spared the misery of examining the structure of English, French, or German through the lenses of Latin had even one language teacher consulted the writings of even one comparative linguist. Or consider how many language teachers today sit in silent puzzlement as they attempt to understand fully a research-based article in which results of statistical tests support a proposed hypothesis concerning the efficacy of one teaching method over another.

I believe that, in the interest of language student and teacher, greater interaction must occur between individuals in the fields of language pedagogy and those in theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics research. Indeed, such interaction is essential if meaningful and innovative progress in these areas is to be made in the decades ahead.

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NOTE

[1] Although the term "interaction" is used throughout, it should be noted that the examples cited primarily reflect unidirectional interaction between language pedagogy and theoretical and applied linguistics. That is, most of the interaction discussed is in the form of influences from these fields upon language pedagogy, and not vice versa.

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IDEAL 5, 1990

A MULTIMODEL PARADIGM FOR TESL: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM AND BEYOND

Frances K. Vavrus

This study explores the relationship between the theoretical study of *world Englishes* and the application of this study to teacher-training programs. The first part of the paper applies the concepts of "apparatuses of knowledge" (Foucault, 1980) and "local knowledge" (Geertz, 1983) to the study of world Englishes. The second section reports on a survey of the curricula at ten universities offering MATESL/MATEFL degrees. Finally, the paper describes a study comparing the attitudes of American MATESL students and African university students toward non-native written discourse. The results of this study indicate that while there is a nascent awareness of world Englishes, a monomodel paradigm based on native-speaker norms remains firmly entrenched in most teacher-training programs and in the minds of many teachers themselves.

INTRODUCTION

In the past fifty years there has been a dramatic change in the global distribution of power as colonial empires have dissolved and the former subjects have now become kings. One might assume that the ideology used to justify imperialism was buried alongside the *Raj*, but has this actually occurred? The case of non-native varieties of English provides an opportunity for scholars to study whether attitudinal change is contiguous with political and economic displacement. If the linguistic literature accurately reflects the status of this debate, then the legacy of ethnocentrism has not disappeared.

Attitudes toward language variation are but a part of a larger set of beliefs which includes tolerance of cultural and linguistic diversity. In the literature on varieties of English, one often finds language variation equated implicitly and explicitly with cultural decline and linguistic decay (McGregor, 1971; Prator, 1968; Quirk, 1989a & b; Talbot, 1987). One author, writing about English in Britain, warns that: "English is being carried downhill and back towards the jungle and primeval grunts" (Talbot, 1987, p. 14). On the other hand, a number of scholars in linguistics and anthropology have challenged this staid view of language on the basis that it reinforces an out-of-date power structure and denies the existence of cultural pluralism (Kachru, 1976; 1983; 1986a & b; 1988; O'Barr, 1984; Pride, 1982; Trifonovitch, 1981).

This paper examines the issue of language variation from three perspectives: (1) the political view of non-native varieties as examples of power; (2) the anthropological view of language as an aspect of culture; and (3) the pedagogical view of English as a static entity across cultures. Following this theoretical discussion, the second part reports on a survey of teacher-training programs designed to measure the degree of institutional recognition of language variation. The third section describes a study of teacher-trainees' attitudes toward non-native academic texts. The results demonstrate that the study of institutionalized varieties of English is not only of theoretical interest for linguists and anthropologists, but that it has significant classroom consequences as well.

LANGUAGE AND POWER

Kachru (1986a) was the first to apply directly the work of Michel Foucault on power and knowledge to the study of the spread of English. In his article, "The power and politics of English," Kachru discerns several assertions made in Foucault's writings that bear on the study of English. One of the most important insights is the concept of *apparatuses of knowledge* that formulate and maintain a dominant ideology. Institutions which train teachers are examples of such apparatuses because they define the parameters of knowledge by promoting certain varieties of English. Moreover, teacher training does not normally include the study of institutionalized non-native varieties of English for pedagogical purposes. Without an introduction to this topic, instructors may regard anything but "standard English" as used by educated speakers in the Inner Circle[1] as a deviation or an error.

If one expects ESL instructors to be sensitive to non-native varieties of English, then it is essential that a different set of beliefs be infused into teacher-training programs. Kachru (1986a) lists four components of the power of English which should also be considered in framing a professional ideology. The first area is linguistic, as seen in the use of a particular variety of English as the standard. Within the Inner Circle, there is a long history of conflict surrounding the bifurcation of standard English. Heath (1976, p. 38) points out that linguistic uniformity was "purposefully" not encouraged in the United States, as is evident in the inability of John Adams and other early Americans to establish a national language academy. The decision against the preservation of the Queen's English in the United States in favor of linguistic diversity was not welcomed by all persons in the Inner Circle. Even today, the President of the Queen's English Society must remind his fellow countrymen to be tolerant of American English: "We in the old UK should not, however, fall into the xenophobic folly of presupposing that American and antipodean sounds will be grotesque" (Talbot, 1987, p. 14). While it is hoped that few Britons believe that the American varieties of English are "grotesque," linguistic ethnocentrism is still seen in native speaker attitudes toward certain varieties in the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles (see Quirk, 1989a & b).

In addition to awareness of linguistic diversity in the Inner Circle, a second concern is the recognition of non-native literature. There seem to exist two distinct opinions about the acceptability of non-native varieties of English which, although normally applied to spoken English, also hold for literature: Is it a "travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards" (Quirk, 1989b, p. 18; also see McGregor, 1971 and Prator, 1968) or is non-native literature "proof that English belongs to all who use it" (Platt, et al., 1984, p. 197)? Some scholars have questioned the use of non-native semantic and syntactic structures found in non-native literature, as in the following review of a Singaporean novel:

> The book is full of 'Singaporeanese'--the 'isn't it?' question tag, the dropping or adding of prepositions and a curious (sic!) usage of verb tenses...This is no criticism except that added to this, some meanings seem to be confused or contradictory and blur the impact of the language as an expressive tool. (Platt, et al., 1984, p. 180)

While some critics worry about intelligibility if certain norms are violated, others refer to such differences as *creativity* (Bokamba, 1988; Kachru, 1987) and treat the works of non-native writers as part of the effort to adapt English to the cultural environment. For example, African writers like Achebe (in Mazrui, 1975), Chinweizu (1987) and Ngugi (1986) argue that literature has served as a critical tool in the affirmation of cultural identity and in the description of the historical reality that has shaped modern Africa. This is achieved through the use of *Africanisms*, or lexical items unique to African social and cultural experiences, as in "Father of my mother," "my bride's children," and "Son of our daughter" (Chishimba, 1983, p. 122; also see Bokamba, 1983). These expressions capture relationships not normally found in varieties of English in the Inner Circle. Before native speakers can appreciate the use of such structures in literature, they must be able to make the text intelligible, comprehensible, and interpretable (Smith, 1983, 1988) within the non-native context for which they were intended. This, however, may require a good deal of training on the part of the ESL professional.

Before one can appreciate the literary and linguistic contributions of non-native varieties of English, it may also be necessary to reevaluate one's own attitude toward non-native varieties. This third dimension of power mentioned by Kachru is significant because much of what native speakers consider to be norms are nothing more than arbitrary preferences for certain lexical items and discourse styles. For example, what is the linguistic rule that defines as acceptable *davenport* and *sofa* for a couch but not *me-and-my-darling* which is used in some parts of Africa (Bokamba, 1983)? Moreover, what makes a "linear" style of writing preferable to a more "circular" pattern, as used in some Oriental languages? Although Kaplan's original schema of the cognitive patterns reflected in written discourse have been criticized even by Kaplan himself (1987), researchers have found that rhetorical patterns do vary from culture to culture. Thus attitudes, the third dimension of ideology, must be considered if we are to bring about "professional enlightenment about language, about variety, [and] about English in particular" (Strevens, 1981, p. 13).

Pedagogical concerns are the fourth component mentioned in Kachru's description of the power of English. This issue will be discussed in some detail below, but it is worth noting here the insights from Foucault's work on ideological production and their relevance for the teaching of English. As with linguistics, literature, and attitudes, the business of teaching exists within a broader ideological framework. The issue now is whether one linguistic model and one set of materials and techniques should be used by ESL professionals regardless of the teaching context, be it in the Inner, Outer, or Expanding Circles. Foucault calls upon scholars to consider the potential of "local knowledges" instead of clinging to the dominant knowledge which wields the greatest power. In the case of English this means recognizing the educational, cultural, and literary possibilities of the institutionalized varieties of English.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Given what we know of language and power, it seems appropriate that the TESL community establish a paradigm which reflects the multicultural, multilinguistic status of English in the world. It is necessary to think in terms of a paradigm and not simply a methodology because the effects of such an ideological shift will extend well beyond the classroom. Kuhn (1962), in his seminal book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, outlines the process whereby a paradigm is rejected and a new one adopted by a scientific community. An important consideration is the existence of a competing paradigm which better accounts for the 'facts' than does the one now used by researchers. Kuhn claims that "The decision to reject one paradigm is always simultaneously the decision to accept another, and the judgment leading to that decision involves the comparison of both paradigms with nature and each other" (p. 72). The decision to accept a new paradigm is very significant in the framing of research questions within a discipline, as well as in the training of students, for understanding the paradigm "prepares [students] for membership in the particular scientific community" (p. 11).

Given that institutionalized varieties of English have emerged in the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1986) and that they are recognized by the members of these communities, a paradigm for TESL should (1) reveal why these varieties are important for non-native and native speakers, and (2) explain how this framework better accounts for the sociolinguistic reality of world Englishes than do the competing paradigms. A useful heuristic for this purpose is the work of Geertz (1973; 1987) on culture and semiotics. Two aspects of his work will be considered here: the use of "thick description" and the significance of "local knowledge".

The term *thick description* raises the question of how anthropologists interpret what they observe in cultures not their own. Geertz explains that:

> what we call our data are really our own construction of what they and their compatriots are up to...obscured because most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined. (1983, p. 9)

Therefore, the social scientist must learn to describe thickly, to discover the multiple and varied meanings of an event and to place it in the appropriate social context. For anthropologists, as well as for TESL professionals who find themselves in foreign countries, the first task is to make sense of the unusual rituals and relationships they observe around them. The tendency, according to Geertz, is for outsiders to concentrate on the exotic and to minimize the normality of the culture (p. 14). What Geertz calls for is the description of culture as an interpretive act to "be cast in terms of the interpretations to which persons of a particular denomination subject their experience" (p. 15).

Thick description in anthropology is an attempt to counter what linguists refer to as *interpretation*, "the imposition of one's own knowledge, experience, beliefs, and expectations on what one reads" (Y. Kachru, 1987, p. 87-88). Cross-cultural discourse analysis has revealed numerous instances where, because of cultural differences[2], texts are written and evaluated in significantly different ways (Choi, 1988; Clyne, 1987; Parthasarathy, 1987). The challenge for the critic of non-native literature is not to focus on the "exotic," to use Geertz's vocabulary, but rather to explicate in terms of the non-native context. As S. N. Sridhar points out: "If one is doing serious literary criticism, one should equip oneself with a knowledge of the author's cultural and literary traditions" (1983, p. 301). And if one is going to teach writing or literature in the Outer or Expanding Circles, one certainly needs to familiarize oneself with the conventions deemed acceptable by non-native writers in that region.

A second contribution Geertz makes to our understanding of culture is the concept of local knowledge. In addition to his call for the use of a culturally appropriate framework when describing events, Geertz also proposes that we modify our monocentric definition of knowledge to one that recognizes the polycentricity of knowledge. For language teachers, this means understanding that there are distinct ways to organize a piece of writing, such as in the placement of propositions (Stubbs, 1983), the acceptability of digression (Y. Kachru, 1987), and the frequent use of narration in societies with strong oral traditions (Chishimba, 1983). In addition, texts may vary in terms of their use of metaphor (Chishimba, 1983; Dissanayake & Nichter, 1987) and overall rhetorical style (Bokamba, 1983; Chishimba, 1983; Kachru, 1986b).

These studies of cross-cultural discourse analysis have attempted to show that some of the differences in non-native written discourse are not the result of individual writers taking liberties with the language but rather representative of culturally distinct ways of organizing writing. Geertz (1983) emphasizes the fact that the future of many fields will inevitably involve the expansion of acceptable discourse:

> If there is any message in what I have been saying here, it is that the world is a various place, various between lawyers and anthropologists, various between Muslims and Hindus, various between little traditions and great, various between colonial thens and nationalist nows; and much is to be gained, scientifically and otherwise, by confronting that grand actuality rather than wishing it away in a haze of forceless generalities and false comforts. (p. 234)

What does this mean in terms of nativization and the broadening of the accepted canon? One could argue that by treating institutionalized varieties as local knowledges, one is accepting that "the world is a various place" linguistically as well as socially. From a linguistic perspective, this means treating non-native varieties as different but not deficient (Kachru, 1986b); moreover, the local knowledge perspective recognizes the global sociolinguistic reality of the spread of English (Ferguson, 1983; Fishman, 1983; Strevens, 1980), meaning that a redistribution of power is inevitable as the institutionalized varieties continue to spread in range and depth[3] and are therefore less reliant on the norms of the Inner Circle.

That nativization is a natural consequence of language spread is evident in the linguistic data as well as in the move in literature away from the notion of *the* "unity of knowledge" (Bloom, 1987, p. 371) to multiculturalism. The turning point for native speakers in the shift from a paradigm based on monolingualism and monoculturalism to a multimodel position will occur when individuals in the Inner Circle simultaneously accept non-native literature as worthy of inclusion into the canon[4] and reject that it is merely an example of the exotic. This means not including non-native texts as examples of primitive or imitative styles, but rather reading these works for what they are: bodies of written material expressing the culture of a given people. By viewing non-native texts "in the frame of their own banalities," to paraphrase Geertz (1973, p. 14), "it dissolves their opacity." Thus the need for local knowledge.

This section has attempted to explain why a paradigm which recognizes the desirability of using institutionalized varieties in certain contexts would be beneficial for the TESL profession. The conclusions drawn from this inquiry are that a multimodel paradigm fosters "thick description" by viewing language use in a context and by preparing teachers for the resistance they may face if they work within a monomodel paradigm.[5] Moreover, local knowledge in terms of linguistic and cultural norms provides the material for developing a repertoire of theories, methodologies, and techniques that can be used, when appropriate, in the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles.

In an attempt to find out whether teacher-trainees are receiving information about non-native Englishes and if that awareness is carried over into the classroom, a two-part pilot study was conducted which addresses both of these points. The results of both parts of the study are described below.

EVALUATION OF TEACHER-TRAINING PROGRAMS

Responses were elicited from twelve universities about their M.A. programs leading to TESL/TEFL certification. These schools were selected on the basis of their reputation in the TESOL community in terms of the quality of their graduate program and faculty. Of these twelve programs, ten will be discussed here.[6] The schools will be compared in five areas: M.A. degree options, foreign language requirement for M.A. candidates, required core courses, courses on non-native varieties of English, and course(s) on related topics. These five components will help in assessing whether teacher-training programs are based on a monomodel position, which relies heavily on either linguistics or education, or on a multimodel position, which incorporates ideas from several disciplines, including applied linguistics.

The first insightful finding from this study concerns the range of degrees that a TESL professional might hold. Of the ten schools considered, only five offer MATESL/MATEFL degrees, those being Southern Illinois University (SIU), the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), the University of Hawaii (UH), the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), and the University of Minnesota (UM). Indiana University (IU), SIU, and the University of Illinois-Chicago (UIC) grant M.A. degrees in applied linguistics with TESL/TEFL certification, while the University of Pittsburgh (UP) offers an M.A. in linguistics with a TESOL certificate. Two other options are the McGill University (MU) program, where one can receive a M.Ed. in TESL, and the University of Wisconsin option for an M.A. in English with a specialization in applied English linguistics. Thus, a prospective TESL student could choose a program with an emphasis on linguistics, applied linguistics, education or English literature. Yet despite the different names given to TESL degrees, one may be surprised by the similarity of the curricula of the programs surveyed.

The curricula for the TESL degree at these ten institutions include a range of required and elective courses. It is illuminating to look at the required courses for, in theory, they provide trainees with the essential knowledge they need before embarking on careers as teachers. In this sample there was general agreement about the need for some familiarity with a foreign language. Only two schools, MU and SIU, do not require any foreign language. The others require either a reading knowledge of one language and/or the ability to pass a departmental foreign language test. Another area of consensus involves core courses in linguistics, with all of the programs requiring a minimum of one course in either general linguistics, syntax, or phonology. All of the programs also require a course which applies theoretical linguistics to teaching, as in courses entitled "Applied Transformational Grammar" (IU), "Second Language Acquisition" (UH), "Grammatical Structure for TESOL" (UIC), and "Pedagogical Grammar" (UIUC). Moreover, the curricula at nine of the ten schools require that students take a course on TESL methodology and/or a practicum, with UW being the only exception.

The ten programs differ most notably in whether they include a course on sociolinguistics or culture in their core requirements. Only four (MU, UH, UIC, and UIUC) have this as a specific requirement, with UP giving the option of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, materials development, or testing. This is not to suggest that the topic of language and society is not covered in other courses at these schools, but it does indicate the importance given to this aspect of teacher training by program developers. The titles of other required courses that might include sociolinguistic issues are "English Dialects"[7] (UW) and "Current TESOL Publications" (UP).

On the availability of elective courses on language variety and world Englishes, none of the schools regularly offers a course with this as its central theme. As far as can be deduced from course catalogues and responses from program directors, only UH (through the East-West Center) and UIUC have elective courses which emphasize non-native varieties of English. What is unknown at this point is whether other universities in North America and abroad teach courses on world Englishes. It would be particularly interesting to find out if institutes in the Outer Circle present this as an issue in their teacher-training programs in the form of a required course or as a seminar. For now the database is limited to the ten schools described above and summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: **Summary of TESL Programs**

SCHOOL	M.A.	FOR.LANG	REQ. COURSES	W.E.COURSE	RELATED COURSES
Indiana	MA in AL	yes	1. Grammar OR phonology 2. Trans. grammar OR syntax 3. Sec. lang. acq. 4. Ling. resources & TESL + practicum 5. Testing 6. Survey of ling. (or equiv.)	no	1. Engl. dialects
McGill	M.Ed. in AL	no	1. Psycholinguistics 2. Sociolinguistics 3. Instructional approaches 4. Curriculum development	no	
SIU	MA in AL MAEFL	no	1. General linguistics 2. Articulatory phonetics 3. Theory & methods 4. Practicum in oral Engl. 5. Practicum in written Engl.	no	1. Amer. dialects 2. S-ling. 3. L. plan.
UCLA	MATESL	yes	1. Methodology 2. Intro. to Linguistics 3. Phonology 4. Contrastive & error anal. 5. Composition/literature/ reading	no	

U. Hawaii	MAESL	yes	1. Phonology 2. Testing 3. Teaching ESL 4. Syntax 5. SLA 6. Sociolinguistics 7. Practicum	East-West Center	1. S-ling.
UI-C	MA in AL (TESOL special.)	yes	1. Phonology 2. Morphology 3. Syntax 4. Sociolinguistics 5. TESL I & II 6. Grammatical structure/TESL 7. Ling. and lang. learning	no	
UIUC	MATESL	yes	(pedagogical track)		
			1. Theoretical foundations 2. Topics-verbal interaction 3. Methods + practicum 4. Phonology/Morphology 5. Descriptive grammar 6. Pedagogical grammar 7. Culture OR sociolinguistics 8. Testing 9. General ling. (prereq.)	periodically	1. Biling. seminar 2. Amer. dialects
U. Minn	MAESL	yes	1. Intro. to linguistics 2. Linguistic analysis 3. Phonetics 4. Contrastive linguistics 5. Methods 6. Practicum 7. Ling. description of modern English	no	1. Amer. dialects
U. Pitt.	MA in Ling. (TESOL certificate)	yes	1. Ling. struct. of Eng. 2. Theory & methods OR techniques & procedures 3. Language acquisition 4. Demonstration lessons 5. Current TESOL publications 6. Practicum 7. Testing OR materials devel. OR psycholing. OR socioling.	no	1. S-ling.
U. Wisc.	MA in Eng. (applied Eng. linguistics)	yes	1. English dialects 2. Applied Eng. linguistics 3. Advanced Eng. syntax 4. Advanced Eng. phonology 5. Structure of Eng. (prereq.) 6. English phonology (prereq.)	no	

EVALUATION OF NON-NATIVE TEXT

This part of the study was designed to discover whether the evaluation by MATESL students of a text written by a non-native English speaker would be influenced by the context for which the text was written. Based on the discussion above, it was hypothesized that the teacher trainees would not take context into consideration in their assessment even though the task specified either an Inner Circle or Outer Circle context.

Subjects

Twenty native speakers of English in the MATESL program at the University of Illinois (UC) participated in the study.[8] Eighty percent have taught ESL/EFL for 1-5 years, 10% for 6-10 years, and 10% for 11-15 years. The vast majority (90%) planned to continue teaching in the United States in the next 5-10 years, although many also indicated a desire to teach in Southeast Asia (excluding Singapore and Malaysia-40%), Europe (35%), Britain, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand (15%), Central and South America (15%), and Singapore, Malaysia, Francophone Africa, Anglophone Africa, and the Middle East (5%). This suggests that most of the MATESL students in this program will teach in the Outer and Expanding Circles at some time during the next decade.

The MATESL students were asked two questions which sought to uncover their degree of exposure to world Englishes. The first question asked if the subject had ever lived in a country outside the Inner Circle where English is the national or official language, to which only three replied in the affirmative. The second question inquired about the subject's exposure to non-native literature, with ten out of twenty subjects responding that they had read something by a non-native author. Appendix 1 is a sample of the questionnaire given to the MATESL students.

In addition to the twenty MATESL students, nine African university students from countries in the Outer Circle participated in the study.[9] These subjects did not complete a lengthy background questionnaire as did the MATESL students, but they did give the name of their country, the length of time they had studied English, and their field of study. Six of the nine subjects were from Nigeria, and the others were from Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe [see note 10]. All of the subjects had studied English for at least ten years, while most had studied it "since elementary school" which would mean for approximately 15-25 years. None of the subjects were in fields such as linguistics, literature, or education, which might prejudice them for or against a certain variety of English. Instead, the African students were in a wide range of fields, from theater arts to philosophy to engineering.

Materials

The MATESL and the African students read the same article from an African studies magazine called *The African Reporter* (now *The African Link*), which is edited and published by African students in the United States. The article, entitled "Academics in Chains," was written by a Nigerian and was intended for an American audience. The text is provided in Appendix 2.

Procedure

The MATESL students were given the Background Questionnaire, the "Academics in Chains" article, and one of two sets of instructions. Group A was given the following instructions:

> In your duties as an ESL instructor at a Nigerian university, you are required to evaluate and correct the compositions of your students. The following essay was written for a magazine your students are compiling as part of their English composition class. The magazine will be printed and distributed for other Nigerian students and professors to read. This article was written for the section of the magazine covering issues related to education.
>
> Before the magazine is printed, you need to grade each essay and make any necessary lexical or grammatical changes. After reading the passage, please (1) evaluate it holistically using the attached evaluation scale, and (2) mark any lexical, grammatical, or stylistic changes you would suggest to this student.

Group B was given a similar set of instructions, except that they were to assume the role of an ESL instructor at an American university where the students were writing for an American audience. The composition evaluation scale was the same for both groups and is based on the Jacobs, et al. (1981) scale used by many of the MATESL students in their duties as ESL composition teachers at the University of Illinois (UC). The evaluation scale is given in Appendix 3.

Because the African subjects are not ESL instructors, the instructions and the evaluation scale had to be modified slightly to remove any linguistic jargon. However, this group of subjects was also asked to evaluate the writing sample holistically using a modified Jacobs, et al. scale and to mark any changes they would suggest; instead of serving as teachers, the role for all of these subjects was one of a friend helping a Nigerian proofread an article before it was to be published in a magazine in the United States. The American context was selected over the Nigerian context used with the Group A MATESL students for it was felt that the American situation would elicit a more rigorous evaluation from the African subjects.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed with a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with a 2 x 6 factorial design. The ANOVA compared the two groups of MATESL students with one another to measure the effect of the writing context on their evaluations. The p-value was calculated using the PC ANOVA program for the IBM PC. The written comments by the three groups of subjects were also analyzed to determine which error type (lexical, syntactic, stylistic, etc.) most influenced the subjects' evaluations.

Results

Because the African students were given slightly different instructions from the two groups of MATESL students, it was not possible to make a true comparison of the effect of language and training on text evaluation. Therefore, the African subjects were treated as a comparison group instead of an experimental group. Their scores, while generally higher than those of the MATESL students, were viewed solely as an acknowledgement that the text selected for use in this study was indeed an example of acceptable African English by African standards. The important comparison, then, is between the two groups of MATESL students who differed only in the context in which they were to evaluate the text. Figure 1 is a comparison of the mean scores for the three groups.

There were several possible major outcomes, the most important being that the MATESL students in Group A (Nigerian context) might have rated the text higher than the MATESL students in Group B (American context). This would have occurred if the MATESL subjects in Group A had viewed this text as appropriate for a Nigerian audience. However, as can be seen in Tables 2a, there was no significant difference between the ratings by the two groups of MATESL students.

Table 2b shows that the two groups of MATESL students gave virtually identical ratings for each of the five components on the evaluation scale. The grammar rating was the same for both groups (3.0="good") while mechanics and organization received the highest and lowest scores, respectively.

Figure 1: Summary of Group Means

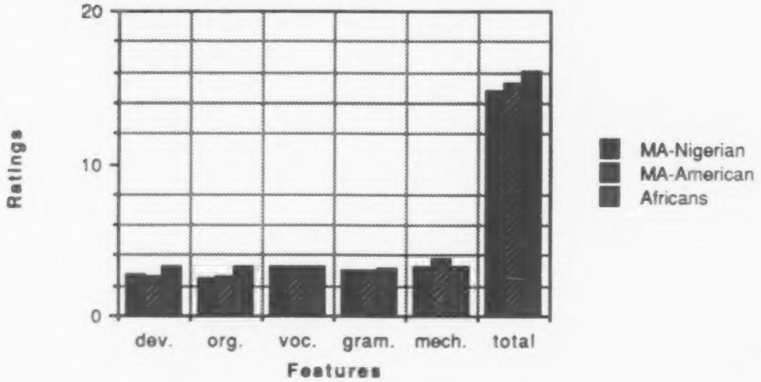

Table 2a: **Two-way ANOVA of MATESL subjects (Groups A & B)**

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between Groups					
subject	5.4119	2	2.7060	0.537	[illegible]
error	131.0171	26	5.0391		
Within Groups					
score	3653.3813	5	730.6763	697.853	.0000
sub score	10.1379	10	1.0138	0.968	
error	136.1146	130	1.0470		

Table 2b: **Scores for components on evaluation scale**

subject	nsn*	nsn	nsn	nsn	nsn	nsn
score	dev	org	voc	gram	mech	total
n	11	11	11	11	11	11
mean	2.727	2.545	3.273	3.000	3.273	14.818
s.s.	8.182	10.727	2.182	6.000	4.182	85.636

subject	nsa**	nsa	nsa	nsa	nsa	nsa
score	dev	org	voc	gram	mech	total
n	9	9	9	9	9	9
mean	2.667	2.556	3.333	3.000	3.778	15.333
s.s.	6.000	6.222	4.000	4.000	1.556	36.000

* =native speaker (MATESL)-Nigerian context
**=native speaker (MATESL)-American context

While the quantitative analysis above does provide useful information about the role of context in text evaluation, it does not present the entire picture. An equally meaningful way to look at these data is to analyze qualitatively the comments made by the MATESL students about the text. These notes reflect the linguistic concerns and attitudinal positions of the MATESL students. Under the rubric of linguistics one could include comments about verb tense, prepositions, articles, and word choice. Particularly troublesome were the following nine expressions:

VERB TENSE:	•"those days when people *dream* of making..." •"Our universities *had* always been..." (have)
PREPOSITIONS	•"his famous article outlined *on*..."
ARTICLES	•"It is no longer *a* fun..." •"the role an intellectual must play in *the* present-day society..." •"when it was *a* pride to be a graduate..."
WORD CHOICE	•"the *few available manpower* are treated shabbily" •"no longer news to make *a first class*..." •"*Something informs me that*..."

One would expect MATESL students to object to these phrases since they are not normally used in American English. However, research has shown that lexical differences of this sort are characteristic of African English, particularly in West Africa (Bokamba, 1983; 1988). Bamgbose (1983, p. 106) cites examples of the use of different prepositions by Nigerians, as in "discuss about" and "congratulate for," which would explain why the author of the sample text used the phrase "outline on." Moreover, Bokamba (1983; 1988) points out that many patterns in African English, such as differences in countable/uncountable nouns, reflect patterns found in some African languages. This may be the reason for the use of "a fun" and "a pride" by the author of this passage.

In addition to the specific lexical and syntactic changes made by the MATESL students, many of them wrote comments about the text and the task. The reactions to the passage were mixed, and are certainly relevant in light of the theme of ideological change which is central to this paper. Of the eleven subjects in Group A (Nigerian context-MATESL students), four indicated that they were aware that differences exist between Nigerian and American varieties of English. The comments below are representative of this group:

> As English is used as a second language in Nigeria, I was reluctant to make any corrections. In other words, I am not aware of what grammatical structures are acceptable in Nigerian English [NE] and

> whether NE allows for more digression (a less linear style) than the native varieties do. If I were to teach in Nigeria, I would have to be fairly familiar with the system of NE.

A second set of comments from Groups A and B are characterized by their questioning of the logic and style used by the writer:

> Though the topic is eloquently discussed, there are omissions in terms of logic-who? how? why? Also the style is rather grandiose and editorial for a magazine article.
>
> I really didn't understand what the person was trying to say. What was the point of the essay? The vocabulary was flowery. The sentences were too long-almost continuous.
>
> The lack of development was difficult for me. I'm not sure what the point was...the writer seemed to feel no need to explicitly demonstrate the validity of an opinion through reasoning.

Finally, there were statements that expressed more general dissatisfaction with the text:

> These are the kind of essays I don't like grading-at first glance they seem well-written and sophisticated. But on closer inspection there are bizarre expressions, logical connections that aren't, and dramatic vocabulary (see paragraph 2). In short, the writers [sic] ideas outrun his ability to effectively express them in English.
>
> This sounds like a bad translation.

In summary, it seems that there are three prevailing attitudes among the MATESL students: (1) an awareness and acceptance of the functions of non-native varieties of English; (2) a questioning of the unfamiliar forms found in these varieties; (3) a rejection of the forms of non-native varieties. Because this text was indeed published in an American magazine and did receive good ratings by the African students, it is curious that some of the MATESL students found it unacceptable. Moreover, since the writer adhered to many of the conventions of African English, it would seem that most of the subjects evaluating the text in the Nigerian context would have rated it more highly than the American-context group, or acknowledged that they, the teachers, were unfamiliar with African English norms. The fact that this did not happen leads us back to the questions of language and power and language and culture.

CONCLUSION

If "a language story can be told in a number of ways" (Davies, 1989, p. 464), then the above has been an attempt to portray world Englishes as a documentary rather than a fiction. Instead of postulating about the specter of nativization, we have looked specifically at what is changing with the worldwide use of English and the consequences of such change. First, the issue of power was discussed vis-a-vis the teaching of English in the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles. Second, we proposed that local knowledge be given its place alongside the more established traditions in linguistics and literature. Third, in response to the non-native models which have developed primarily in the Outer Circle, it was suggested that TESL-training programs modify their curriculum to reflect these developments.

The reality of world Englishes will have profound implications for the TESL profession in the years to come. The issues raised by Geertz point to the problem of maintaining the monolingual as normative myth. A different approach to the teaching of English might begin with the suggestion made by Ferguson (1983, p. vii) that "the whole mystique of native speaker and mother tongue be quietly dropped from the linguists' set of professional myths about language." This means dropping the entire set of theories, attitudes, and methodologies which have been used to justify this view of language and replacing it with something that better explains the sociocultural reality of English worldwide.

In place of the monomodel paradigms, be they based on linguistic deficiency (Prator, 1968; Quirk, 1988; 1989a and b) or linguistic deviance[10] (Selinker, 1972), must come a view which (1) places power at the extremities by expunging from ESL pedagogy any notions of deviance in the educated varieties of English, and (2) provides a means by which ESL professionals can cultivate an awareness of local linguistic, literary, and cultural norms. Acceptance of multilingualism and multiculturalism is particularly vital for ESL professionals since they "serve not just as instructors but as representatives and unofficial ambassadors of the English-speaking world" (Flaitz, 1988, p. 201). Therefore, this group of English speakers needs to be sensitive to the hostility some students may show toward the use of certain varieties of English (Lowenberg, 1982).

One way to ameliorate this situation is to prepare future teachers for the varied linguistic and cultural world in which they will be teaching by exposing them to a paradigm based on diversity. The term "multimodel" has been used throughout this paper as a cover term for the proposed paradigm, although the terms "polymodel" (Kachru, 1988) and "pedagogy of possibility" (Peirce, 1989) are used in the literature in similar ways. Regardless of the name given to this framework, the point is that ESL professionals need to recognize that pedagogy is political, from its broadest level, at which certain varieties of English are recognized by society as knowledge, down to the methodology teachers use in the classroom. A multimodel paradigm should expose the power dimension of English language teaching and prepare teachers for the role they and their students will play in shaping the future of world Englishes. A variety of language stories are being told around the world today; it is the responsibility of the TESL profession to recognize this diversity and dispel of the fiction of monomodelism.

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NOTES

[1] The terms *Inner, Outer*, and *Expanding Circles* classify regions where English is used on the basis of form and function. According to Kachru (1988), the Inner Circle is composed of "the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English" (p. 2). The Outer Circle, on the other hand, is comprised of former British colonies and American protectorates. Here English "may be an official language used in educational, commercial and trade institutions, but it is generally not the native language of the citizens" (op. cit.). In the Expanding Circle, including China, Indonesia, and Japan, English is not an official language and is viewed as a foreign language learned primarily for international communication.

[2] Y. Kachru raises the important question of whether discourse variability is due to different cognitive processes or to different conventions in writing. She challenges the Whorfian hypothesis and its application to rhetoric by Kaplan.

[3] Kachru (1986, 92) defines range as the extent to which a variety has penetrated different social, economic, cultural, and educational situations. Depth is defined as the use of a variety by individuals in different social strata.

[4] For a discussion of why Americans have become concerned with the issue of canons and cultural literacy in recent years, see *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1989. Six panelists, including English professors, the president of the Cultural Literacy Foundation, and a pop music critic, debate how a society selects a canon and the role it has in preserving the traditions of the past. The article also includes the humanities reading list from 1937-38 at Columbia University as well as the 1988-89 list for a course at Stanford titled "Culture, Ideas, Values." The two lists illustrate the change in what American scholars define as essential works for college students.

[5] This term is used by Kachru (1989) to describe the position of Prator (1968) and Quirk (1988; 1989) which views language spread in terms of "the demographic, the econo-cultural, and the imperial" (p. 6). Because scholars working within this paradigm see English primarily in econo-cultural terms, they tend to reject calls for the recognition of institutionalized varieties of English.

[6] The two schools which received letters but will not be considered here are Georgetown University and the University of Toronto. The former did not respond to the letter of inquiry while the latter does not have a recognized MATESL program.

[7] The director of the UW program stated in a letter that this course did not cover the matter of world Englishes specifically, since the instructor "devotes most of her time to regional and social variation in English" (personal communication, 3 November 1989).

[8] Forms were sent to twenty-eight MATESL students, with twenty forms returned to the experimenter. The response rate for this group of subjects was 71%. The fact that less than 100% of the subjects returned the forms accounts for the unequal number of subjects in Groups A and B. Originally, fourteen copies of each form were distributed, with eleven copies of form A returned and nine of form B.

[9] Fourteen forms were sent to African students at the University of Illinois and Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana. The subjects volunteered to participate in the study, although only nine actually completed the task, leading to a 64% response rate. This is equivalent to the response rate for the MATESL students in Group B. Of the nine forms which were returned, one came from a student from Zimbabwe which, according to Kachru (1988), is part of the Expanding Circle. This student's rating was included as part of the data because he has studied English since elementary school in Zimbabwe and has been living in the U.S. for four years. Because this subject has used English for all of his educational and occupational functions, his response to the text was determined to be comparable to that of the other subjects from countries in the Outer Circle.

[10] For an an interesting discussion of the deviation paradigm as it is used in the second language acquisition literature, see Sridhar & Sridhar (1986).

APPENDIX 1

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How long have you been teaching ESL (at the University of Illinois and elsewhere)?

1-5 years _____
6-10 years _____
11-15 years _____
Over 15 years _____

2. Mark any of the regions where you plan to teach in the next 5-10 years.

The United States ___
Britain, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand ___
Western or Eastern Europe (including the U.S.S.R.) ___
Southeast Asia (excluding Singapore and Malaysia) ___
Singapore or Malaysia ___
India ___
Francophone Africa (West and Central Africa) ___
Anglophone Africa (East and Southern Africa) ___
Central or South America ___
Other ______________________________

3. Have you ever taught in a country besides the U.S.A., Britain, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand where English is the national or official language?

Yes ___ No ___

4. Have you ever read a short story or novel written in English by a non-native writer, such as Raja Rao (India) or Chinua Achebe (Nigeria)?

Yes ___ No ___

APPENDIX 2

TEXT

Academics in Chains

Paul Baran in his famous article on "The commitment of the intellectual" outlined on the expected role an intellectual must play particularly in the present-day society where there is the tendency towards misrule, abuse of power, corruption, tyranny, misery and mass poverty, and affluence of the few to the detriment of the rest of us. Paul Baron must have had in mind the role of the intellectual as the conscience of the nation, as the last bastion of hope, the voice of courage and reason that will speak against oppression and exploitation, against all vices that abound in contemporary society.

However, a critical look at the expectations of our academics today and the realities in our contemporary political situation indicates that our intellectuals are in chains. Chains, though not visibly seen, but are easily apprehended by the existing conditions in our citadels of learning, in the increasing atomization of not only academicians but also of democratic forces in the country, in the emergence of a culture of intolerance now quickly eating deep into the embers of our national life, in the precarious state of affairs that now characterize learning, now defined in terms of certificate acquisition instead of knowledge comprehension, and in the increasing destitution and frustration of products of our educational institutions which are the mirror of future societal progress.

Nigerians do not need the services of any fortune teller for them to understand that the glamour of learning is no longer there, that those days when people dream of making it through their degrees acquired from the universities are over; when it was a pride to be a graduate, when learning was characterized by excellence, flexibility and dedication.

Today, the story is different. It is no longer a fun to be a graduate; no longer news to make a first class, it is no longer a joy to read, write, study and research into knowledge. Gone are the days when lecturers were respected. Their rewards are in "heaven" even though they have responsibilities on earth.

Our universities had always been hot-beds of radicalism. Hence they must be cowed, and harassed. Their basic freedom to associate is trampled upon as the nation increasingly moves toward intolerance. Something informs me that our educational system which is a product of the economic condition in our society would witness increasing retardation, regression, malfunctioning and depression in the near future. The realities of the moment have shown that there is no way Africans can sustain a high degree of excellence when our educational institutions are under-funded and under-staffed. Worse, the few available manpower are treated shabbily.

The culture of learning is slowly being killed by those who run our educational systems as Emirate-systems, dividing our countries into council and district headquarters serving local champions and prejudiced warlords. What we need is greater tolerance, flexibility, consensus, fairness and justice in the running of African educational systems.

APPENDIX 3

COMPOSITION EVALUATION SCALE

Please circle the number that best describes your assessment of this essay.

DEVELOPMENT

4	effective topic sentences/thesis-thorough development of topic sentences-knowledgeable-substantive
3	fairly effective topic sentences/thesis-limited development of topic sentences/thesis-fairly knowledgeable-fairly substantive
2	attempted topic sentences/thesis-ineffective development of topic sentences/thesis-somewhat knowledgeable-somewhat substantive
1	lacking topic sentences/thesis-little knowledge of subject-little substance or development

ORGANIZATION

4	well-organized-logical sequencing-clear relationship between ideas-unified-coherent-cohesive
3	fairly well-organized-mostly logical sequencing of ideas-fairly clear relationships between ideas-fairly unified, coherent, cohesive
2	loosely organized, but main ideas are clear-somewhat logical but incomplete sequencing-somewhat unified, coherent-lacks appropriate transition
1	ideas confused or disconnected-lacks logical sequencing-lacks unity, coherence, cohesion

VOCABULARY

4	sophisticated range-appropriate register-effective word/idiom choice and usage-effective sentence variety
3	sophisticated range attempted with fair success-occasional instances of inappropriate register-fairly successful sentence variety-occasional errors of word/idiom choice, usage
2	adequate range with little sophistication-frequent instances of inappropriate register-some use of sentence variety-frequent errors of word/idiom choice
1	limited range-inappropriate register-little or no sentence variety-frequent errors of word/idiom choice, usage

GRAMMAR

4	effective sentence construction-virtually no errors of tense, agreement, word form, number, articles, prepositions
3	mostly effective sentence construction-few errors of tense, agreement, word form, number, articles, prepositions
2	minor problems in sentence construction-frequent errors of tense, agreement, word form, number, articles, prepositions
1	major problems in sentence construction-numerous errors of tense, agreement, word form, number, articles, prepositions

MECHANICS

4	demonstrates mastery of conventions of paragraphing, spelling, punctuation, capitalization
3	occasional errors of paragraphing, spelling, punctuation, capitalization
2	frequent but minor errors of paragraphing, spelling, punctuation, capitalization
1	numerous and/or major errors of paragraphing, spelling, punctuation, capitalization

GENERAL SCORING GUIDE:

4=**EXCELLENT**=clear, effective, virtually no errors or problems

3=**GOOD**=clear, mostly effective, occasional minor errors or problems

2=**FAIR**=fairly clear, minimally adequate for topic, frequent minor errors or problems

1=**POOR**=not clear, inadequate for topic, numerous and/or major errors or problems

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

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IDEAL 5, 1990

REVIEWS

The Teaching of Pronunciation. Peter Avery and Susan Ehrlich (eds.). TESL Talk 17:1. Toronto, Ontario: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1987. Pp. 184.

Teaching English Pronunciation. Joanne Kenworthy. New York: Longman, 1987. Pp. xii + 164.

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The Teaching of Pronunciation (TTOP) and Teaching English Pronunciation (TEP) are resource books for ESL teachers. Although they overlap in many respects, each has strengths which make it especially valuable for different types of teachers. This review will compare the texts, identifying their strengths and weaknesses, and point out how those qualities relate to teachers of pronunciation. In particular, the review will examine the stated goals of each text, the audiences they address, the roles they consider important for the teacher, their treatment of spelling, and the accuracy of their linguistic information.

Emphasizing that pronunciation work must be an integral part of a communicatively oriented language classroom, both texts begin with a discussion of goals. To implement these goals they take the position that pronunciation work must be planned, and not just allowed to happen spontaneously. Stating that "it is important that teachers set realistic goals"(10), TTOP identifies critical errors - those errors that make a learner most hard to understand - as the focus of pronunciation instruction; however, native-like pronunciation is not considered a realistic goal. Even so, it says, learners can improve their pronunciation dramatically when they concentrate particularly on two areas, perception and production (10).

Compared with TTOP's general statements, TEP's treatment of goals is more thoroughly explained, and therefore more helpful [though similar in philosophy]. The author says that "for the majority of learners a...reasonable goal is to be **comfortably intelligible**" (3). This notion is developed throughout the text and is constantly referred to with new illustrations. Intelligibility, the crucial element in the goal, is defined as follows: "the more words a listener is able to identify accurately when said by a particular speaker, the more intelligible that speaker is" (13). What matters, then, is whether a learner's pronunciation is close enough to native expectations to make him easily understandable. This criterion is used when the author later lists sounds like /ð/ in function words like the, then, and there as relatively unimportant to work on, since mistakes rarely cause a loss of intelligibility. She treats /r/ in the same way. Variants such as the Spanish trilled /r/ or the French uvular /r/ are unlikely to cause unintelligibility and thus are low priority sounds for these learners. These unusual recommendations follow directly from her stated goal of comfortable intelligibility.

Both texts are written for English language teachers, but seem to have in mind different audiences. TTOP addresses ESL teachers who have had a minimum of phonetic training. The text spends sixty-four pages on the English sound system, giving an excellent overview that includes descriptions, diagrams, and explanations of how the sounds are made and relate to one another. Assuming its readers will not be able to become competent pronunciation teachers without knowledge of phonetics, TTOP systematically introduces crucial concepts in an easily understood fashion. An inexperienced pronunciation teacher could, by reading this text carefully, learn to understand and analyze student errors. In addition to the individual sounds of English, the book also treats grammatical endings, positional variation of sounds, syllable types, word stress and vowel reduction, rhythm, stress and intonation, and how sounds are modified in connected speech. While all of these areas are far from complete, the same clarity in explanation is always present. Even if no other part of this book were useful, TTOP would be a good resource for a teacher on the basis of its treatment of the sound system alone.

TEP seems to assume a reader who already has some expertise in phonetics, and as a result, is not always explicit in its explanations. The book provides a list of phonetic symbols with key words at the beginning, but includes no explanations that would help someone untrained in phonetics to understand the significance of the symbols. An inexperienced teacher with minimal knowledge of phonetics would probably have a more difficult time using this text, since the analysis of learner difficulties often assumes this knowledge. More importantly, the teacher would not be able to analyze on his own, and would be tied to others' explanations, when these could be found.

Both texts treat the teacher as an important part of pronunciation teaching. TTOP's section on phonetics emphasizes the point that the teacher should be knowledgeable and able to assess learner problems. TEP is more specific in defining this expertise, listing seven roles a teacher should play. Among these, building awareness, providing production tips and activities, and assessing student performance are three important areas treated by both texts.

The first area, building awareness, is where TEP is especially strong. Kenworthy considers awareness building so important that she devotes an entire chapter to it. For her, awareness means that a learner has both a knowledge of what to listen for and a concern for good pronunciation. Awareness is "the first stage in the learning process - a way to 'open the ears' and establish strategies and methods of working" (27). While learners should increase their awareness of all elements of the sound system, she advocates a heavier focus at the beginning on word stress and suprasegmental features, taking sounds to be relatively less important. This is a sensible order given the central role of suprasegmentals in conveying meaning. TTOP also includes one article on listening, but does not present any ordering suggestions. The activities it covers are really only outlines of activities, while TEP is much more explicit and imaginative in the activities it includes.

Production activities and ideas are numerous in both books. TTOP has articles on traditional techniques, activities for suprasegmentals, communicative activities, and drama in the classroom. TEP focuses on production activities in Chapter 4, "Extending and Consolidating." Included are some suggestions for teaching prediction of word stress, and some nice functional intonation activities. In addition, each text has a section on problems that specific language groups are likely to have. In this area, TEP is much more useful for the teacher, since Kenworthy classifies problem areas as being high priority, low priority, and optional attention. TTOP merely lists the problem areas and gives descriptions and tips. In this area, TEP is the text that teachers would find more useful in determining which aspects of pronunciation to work on with limited classroom time.

Assessment, the third area, includes both feedback and assessment. Each text sees feedback as important partly for traditional reasons, namely that learners are often dependent on outside evaluation, especially at beginning stages of instruction, and partly to help develop self-monitoring abilitites in the learner. An important part of the teacher's job is to build independent learners who will take responsibility for their own learning. To do this, TEP says that "learners need suggested strategies [for self-monitoring], and opportunities to practice these strategies" (2). TTOP focuses on specific in-class techniques, while TEP includes suggestions for oral homework that will help build self-monitoring skills outside the classroom. Each text complements the other in this area.

Assessment of student speech is a theme in both texts, but the extent of the assessment suggested is different. TTOP gives many more suggestions for assessment of speech samples before instruction begins, while TEP is more clear about the usefulness of ongoing assessment, especially oral homework and taped exercises. TEP makes an interesting assumption about assessment when it points out that teachers are actually quite unreliable judges of intelligibility, while untrained native speakers are more dependable. This difference in skill occurs because teachers are better than others at understanding poor attempts at English sounds through more exposure to non-native pronunciation. The author therefore concludes that teachers should not assess their students, but should find non-teachers who can do the assessment. This position will raise many questions with readers, not only about the workability of such an approach to assessment but also about the tenability of her assumption that teachers are unable to accurately assess their students.

The usefulness of spelling in a pronunciation class is a clear difference between these texts. TTOP is quite traditional in this area, dismissing the idea quickly with comments about the irregularity of English spelling. TEP, however, provides a welcome, though incomplete, treatment of using spelling in the classroom. The author says that spelling "is a major pronunciation resource for non-native learners" (96), a very different view from most pronunciation texts, in which spelling is regarded as another unfortunate problem to be overcome. She discusses some features of English spelling (e.g. English is a visually oriented system and not phonetic, and position and surroundings are extremely important in determining the sound represented by a letter), then shows some differences between the way natives and non-natives use the system. She states that "it is the teacher's job to present rules that are usable" for learners (97), and offers some simple rules and regularities for teachers to use. Although this chapter is a giant step forward from the traditional view, the author often misses useful generalizations, and in other cases fails to restrict her rules sufficiently. For example, after giving a clear rule for pronouncing "c" ([s] before e,i,y; [k] elsewhere), she states that "cc" is mostly pronounced like [k], as in *tobacco*, but can be [ks] as in *accept*. The rule for "cc" is unnecessary, though, since her rule for "c" applies in each case to give a correct prediction: [kk] (i.e. [k]) in *tobacco*, and [ks] in *accept*. Her one major rule for predicting vowel sounds is the "silent e" that accounts for the different vowels in pairs like *mate/mat*. She misses the further generalization that endings like *-ed* and *-ing* also signal a similar change in the preceding stressed vowel (e.g. *biking*, *coded*). Such information can be used by learners for many words without knowing the spelling of the root word with 'silent e'. In another case the author, in discussing *ou/ow* vowel digraphs, as in *soup* and *crow*, says that it may be best to consider these vowel pairs as unpredictable. In saying this, she misses certain useful generalities, such as *oup* spellings (*soup*, *coupon*) being pronounced as [u]. Despite these difficulties, the chapter is a welcome change since it considers spelling as a resource not a handicap.

The use of spelling raises the question of whether or not the prediction of sounds, in addition to the perception and production of sounds, should be a goal in the pronunciation classroom. Neither text explicitly accepts prediction as a general pronunciation teaching goal. Yet both note the value of prediction in certain areas. *TEP* uses spelling for vowel and consonant prediction. *TTOP* makes the point that class time spent on recognizing word stress patterns can save trouble in memorizing individual items (63). Both *TEP* and *TTOP* include examples of spelled suffixes that clearly predict stress placement. From these examples it is clear that both texts are trying to use spelling to help learners predict the pronunciation of words. Both books therefore need to reconsider their assumptions about this area and be explicit about what they expect learners to gain from their pronunciation instruction, since it appears that improved prediction skills are part of their expectations.

It is also important to ask whether *TEP* and *TTOP* are adequate and accurate in their linguistic descriptions and pedagogical applications. Since they are meant for teachers, it is crucial that they be so. While both texts describe English knowledgeably, a few crucial weaknesses and lapses of clarity appear. In discussing word stress for words like explanation, TEP says that "it is only when the word is said in isolation that we seem to hear three levels of stress. When said as part of a sentence...we tend to hear only two levels of stress. We seem to hear a secondary stress...because of the presence of a full vowel" (61,62). The author suggests that it is wiser to wait until students notice the three levels of stress before dealing with it. Otherwise, she feels that this more complicated system may cause confusion for the students (62). Although the author seems to treat the simpler system of syllables being stressed or unstressed as temporary, she later makes a confusing and inaccurate statement. "It is vital that learners realize the link between the placement of stress in words and vowel quality - that the vowel in the stressed syllable will be a full vowel and that the vowels in unstressed syllables will be reduced to schwa" (76). Assuming only two levels of stress, this would mean that words such as clarification or any other long word will have only one stressed syllable and full vowel, with the rest of the vowels being reduced to schwa. However, the first vowel of clarification is not schwa, but a full vowel. Without treating the presence of stress apart from the major stressed vowel, TEP is unable to explain the presence of non-major stressed full vowels nor the alternating pattern of full and reduced vowels in words which helps define English rhythm. The explanation given by the author is not clear however, and could confuse teachers in this area. In addition, several of TEP's examples are inaccurate, such as the one below used to illustrate linking of vowels. For the linking to occur with the /w/ glide, the vowel of to must be /u/, a full back vowel. However, to is listed as a weak form, a word that is normally reduced to schwa in speaking. But if to is reduced to schwa, it will not link with a /w/ glide. These careless mistakes could be problematic for a teacher attempting to use the descriptions in TEP.

I'd like to own a car.
w

TTOP is mostly accurate in its descriptions. In discussing word stress, it immediately treats schwa because of its importance in English. It then treats minor stress (a difference here from TEP in that it assumes more than two levels of stress), drawing attention to the fact that schwa is unstressed. Thus it does not get into the trouble that TEP does, although it also does not treat the full and reduced vowel alternation of English. It also draws attention to the rise in pitch associated with the main stress in a sentence.

One area that both texts are lacking is a treatment of variation in English. TEP speaks of variants of /r/ used in different parts of the native English speaking world, but holds fairly firmly to RP as a standard. For this reason also, the fact that many American speakers only use /a/ for words like cot and caught is not recognized. TTOP also does not treat variation, although it recognizes the American use of /a/. For an American teacher, this lack of recognition of differing standard pronunciations could be a difficulty.

Both these texts offer valuable help for pronunciation teachers. For a teacher untrained in phonetics, *TTOP* offers a better text from which to learn the basics of the English sound system. *TEP* is more useful for a teacher with some expertise in phonetics, though it contains some confusing explanations. *TEP* reaches farther and includes more advanced information on many topics than does *TTOP*, which confines itself to basic tested elements of pronunciation teaching. Thus, *TEP* may be more helpful to an experienced teacher who already feels comfortable with the basics.

THE AUTHOR

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Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies. Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Juliane House, and Gabriele Kasper (Eds.). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1989. Pp. ix + 300.

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Cross Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies (CCP) is a collection of ten papers from the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) initiated in 1982 (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). This project represents the first attempt to analyze speech acts across a range of languages to investigate whether universal pragmatic principles are at work in speech act realization, and, if so, what the characteristics of those universals are. Thus, this is a worthwhile effort, and the CCSARP is a valuable beginning in working towards a better understanding of such questions. However, before any substantive claims can be made, work of this kind must be further developed and applied to as many contexts as possible. In this review I will present a overview of the CCSARP followed by a brief summary of each of the papers in this collection. I will then discuss problems with the Discourse Completion Test (DCT), the limited scope of the CCSARP, and issues raised in CCP dealing with pragmatic universals.

The CCSARP involves an international team of researchers collecting and analyzing data from thirteen languages and varieties, spoken both by native speakers (NSs) and non-native speakers (NNSs). Data was collected from NSs of Danish (n=163); three dialects of English: Australian (n=227), British (n=100), and American (n=94); Canadian French (n=131); German (n=200); Hebrew (n=173); and Argentinean Spanish (n=40). Data was also collected from NNSs of English in Denmark (n=200), Germany (n=200), and the United States (n=34); from NNSs of German in Denmark (n=200); and from NNSs of Hebrew in Israel (n=224). Although I assume that all of the data was made available to everyone involved in the project, each paper treats at most five of the languages or varieties for detailed analysis. The languages or varieties analyzed in each chapter are noted in the discussion of that chapter.

The method of data collection was the DCT, a written questionnaire consisting of scripted dialogues of sixteen socially differentiated situations, eight each for requests and apologies. The variables chosen were social distance and social dominance, and the situations were designed to represent all possible combinations of these two variables. Situations reflect everyday life of students in a Western university: there is, for example, a situation in which a person asks his/her roommate to clean a mess left in the kitchen, and a situation in which a professor apologizes for not yet having corrected a student's paper. Subjects were given a brief description of the situation and the participants, and were asked to respond as they thought the person in the situation would. A short discourse frame is provided, including the hearer's response, with a blank space to be filled in by the subject. The questionnaire was translated into each of the languages studied.

A coding scheme was set up for the project, and the data was analyzed by NSs in each of the countries. The primary features for coding of requests included a measure for directness level, supportive moves, and internal modifications. For apologies, the primary coding categories were the realization of the illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), expression of responsibility, intensification, and downgrading.

The editors begin with an introduction to cross-cultural pragmatics which provides the rationale for studying speech acts across cultures, and a brief sketch of the development of speech act theory and previous research which bears on cross-cultural aspects of speech act realization. They present an overview of the CCSARP, including a discussion of the DCT and the coding scheme. (The appendix contains a detailed account of how to construct and code a DCT.) The editors then outline the major issues which will be discussed: universality vs. culture specificity in speech acts, situational factors in strategy selection, and investigation of interlanguage pragmatics, an area which has received little attention. They end the introduction by noting the relevance of the CCSARP for several areas, e.g., theoretical pragmatics, contrastive pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and foreign language teaching.

Blum-Kulka discusses conventionally indirect requests. The questions she addresses are whether the category of indirect requests is universal, and, if so, how similar the linguistic means for realizing this category are across languages, and whether conventionally indirect strategies carry similar social meanings across cultures. Of the three major levels of directness (explicit requests, conventional indirect requests, and hints), conventionally indirect strategies were the most common in the four languages analyzed (Australian English, Canadian French, Hebrew, and Argentinean Spanish), thus claims for the universality of conventional indirectness were supported. However, languages varied considerably in formal realization of conventionally indirect requests, and in their assessment of the pragmatic force of indirectness.

Weizman considers requestive hints. She draws a distinction between illocutionary content and propositional content. The former concerns reference to the requested act, while the latter has to do with reference to the hearer's involvement. Substrategies are classified in terms of their opacity or transparency. On the opacity scale of illocutionary content, the most transparent substrategies explicitly question the hearer's commitment to perform the requested act (e.g., "Are you going to help us?"), while the most opaque substrategies state reasons, explanations, or justifications for the request (e.g., "The kitchen is in a bit of a mess."). The CCSARP data reveal a preference for the most opaque substrategies in the three languages analyzed (Australian English, Canadian French, and Hebrew). Weizman concludes that the most opaque substrategies are chosen to secure a high degree of deniability: since the intention is to get a requested act carried out while pretending no such interest exists, (the most opaque) hints are the most effective means of doing so.

House investigates the uses of *please* and *bitte* in British English and German. The CCSARP data reveals that the use and distribution of *please* and *bitte* do not differ significantly between males and females, German NSs and British English NSs, or German NNSs of English and British English NSs. House points out that the notion of *standard situation* is a crucial determinant in the choice of request strategy and use of *please* and *bitte*. A standard situation is one in which the participants have fixed expectations of their social roles. In standard situations, imperatives are used frequently, as are *please* and *bitte*, while in nonstandard situations, imperatives seem to be prohibited, and *please* and *bitte* tend not to occur, especially as the face-threat increases. Greater face-threat calls for more politeness, but *please* and *bitte* are used less as face-threat increases. Thus, House concludes that *please* and *bitte* are not politeness markers, but requestive markers.

Blum-Kulka and House consider variation in directness levels in the CCSARP request data. Although there was a general trend towards conventional indirectness, languages differed significantly in their overall level of directness, for example, Australian English NSs used 10% impositives, while Argentinean Spanish NSs used 40% impositives. Languages also differed in their use of directness in various situations. To investigate this variation, a questionnaire was designed to measure NS assessments of the CCSARP request situations based on six social factors. It was found that the three cultures (Australian, German, and Argentinean) assessed the situations similarly, but differed in their estimates of weight for specific parameters, e.g., while German NSs considered the professor/student relationship as one of social equals, Argentinean Spanish NSs assessed this relationship as one between unequals. Blum-Kulka and House conclude that they are presently unable to offer a model to account for how cultural and contextual factors interact to determine requests, and assert that further research is needed which investigates these factors and also takes into account emic assessments of the situations.

Olshtain looks at apologies. She begins by discussing the five main apology strategies: the IFID, expression of responsibility, explanation, offer of repair, and promise of forbearance. She found little variation in strategy use for the four languages analyzed (Australian English, Canadian French, Hebrew, and German), with an IFID and expression of responsibility occurring across languages in all situations. However, there were significant differences in the level of choice for certain cases. For example, for a situation in which a professor apologizes to a student for not having finished reading the student's paper, 38% of the Hebrew NSs used an IFID, compared to 79% of the German NSs. She concludes that there is need for further research which investigates the social and contextual features which affect strategy choice, and notes that hearer response to apology should be studied as well. Olshtain also adds a final caveat: the lack of culture-specific strategies may be due to the DCT, i.e., students and professors behave similarly in all of the cultures studied.

Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones discuss the strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires. As an example, they note that what constitutes an apology or the need for an apology may vary across cultures; a given situation may elicit different speech acts in different cultures. They also point out that sociolinguistic research has repeatedly shown NS perceptions of their own speech to differ from their observed speech. Further, they question the assumption that short, decontextualized written segments are comparable to the longer stretches of discourse typical of actual interaction. However, they also note several strengths of questionnaires; for instance, they can be used to gather large amounts of data quickly, create initial classifications of formulas and strategies that may occur in natural speech, corroborate results of ethnographic studies, and reveal unexpected variables. In sum, Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones conclude that questionnaires are a useful research tool, but they must be used in conjunction with systematic observation and sensitive elicitation.

Vollmer and Olshtain further investigate apologies in German. To analyze more closely the parameters at work in strategy selection, an assessment questionnaire was administered to 40 German NSs in which they were asked to rate each of the DCT apology situations according to relative social status, social distance, the obligation to apologize, and severity of offense. Comparing the results of this questionnaire with the results of the DCT, they found no correlation between IFID and social status, a high correlation between IFID and obligation to apologize, and a negative correlation between intensification and social status. They also found that expression of responsibility was not explained by distance, status, or obligation, but seemed to be situation specific. They conclude that further research must consider situational parameters as well as status and distance, e.g., speaker cost/benefit inherent in situations.

Faerch and Kasper discuss the mitigating functions of internal and external modification in interlanguage requests. To determine whether internal modification (e.g., syntactic and lexical/phrasal downgraders) and external modification (e.g., supportive moves, such as explanations for a request or promise of reward) in interlanguage request realization were influenced by first language, and if so, in what ways, they analyzed the CCSARP request data for NSs of Danish, British English, and German, and Danish NNSs of German and English.

They found that Danish NNSs of English and German closely approximate NSs in the degree of face work needed for different situations, with the most conspicuous difference being the NNSs' tendency towards "verbosity" as shown in, for example, politeness markers and supportive moves. They attribute this verbosity to advanced NNSs' desire to distinguish themselves from beginners, yet still ensure that they are understood. Faerch and Kasper also maintain that learner verbosity should not be considered pragmatic failure: conversational principles such as Grice's Maxims are derived from NS interaction, and different principles are needed for NNS interaction. The role of interlanguage pragmaticists, they contend, is to describe and explain, not evaluate, interlanguage communication.

The final paper in this volume is another assessment of the CCSARP research method. Rintell and Mitchell attempted to determine whether responses elicited in oral role plays differ from those elicited by the DCT, and, if so, what the implications are for future research. To do this, they administered a modified DCT to one group, and had another group perform oral role plays based on the DCT situations. The written DCT was different from the standard DCT in that the hearer response which indicated illocutionary uptake was not included. They found that the language elicited is very similar, whether collected in oral or written form, with two important differences: NNS oral responses were far longer than written responses, and both NS and NNS oral and written responses differed in the level of directness in situations where a hearer is obligated to perform a request. They conclude that the longer NNS oral responses may reflect a lack of fluency or certainty not shown in writing, and that the lower level of directness in oral responses in some situations may indicate an unwillingness on the part of some of the subjects to be direct, even when the situation warrants it. They close by noting that further research needs to be carried out which compares written to oral data on other dimensions.

It should be clear that, as noted above, the CCSARP represents a good beginning towards an understanding of speech acts across languages and cultures. However, before any substantive conclusions can be made, the method of data collection must be improved, and the scope of study widened.

As Olshtain briefly notes, the DCT may be responsible for the lack of culture-specific apology strategies in the CCSARP data. She maintains that this may be due to the restriction to Western university life, where "professors and students act quite similarly in the various cultures" (p. 171). However, she does not point out that the DCT may also be responsible for the overwhelming tendency for the use of IFIDs and expressions of responsibility, nor do any of the authors point out that the same may be true for the high frequency of conventionally indirect request strategies. The inclusion in the DCT of the hearer's response would seem to rule out the failure to acknowledge requests or the decision on the speaker's part not to apologize. That is, since it is clear from the discourse frame that a request has been acknowledged and granted by the hearer, there is little reason for the speaker to use impositives or hints. Likewise, since an apology has been acknowledged and accepted by the hearer, it seems only natural that an apology should be expressed, i.e., that an IFID and expression of responsibility should be offered by the speaker. What is interesting, though, is that some subjects did use hints, and some also failed to use IFIDs; these, however, were in the minority.

Rintell and Mitchell's study represents a good start in refining the DCT. Recall that in their study they used a modified DCT. Significantly, hearer response was not included on the questionnaire. Although they fail to point this out, the omission of the hearer response may be a key factor in their finding the written and oral data similar. An interesting study would be to administer Rintell and Mitchell's modified DCT and the standard DCT to two groups to determine whether, and if so, how, the inclusion of hearer response affects request and apology strategy choice.

A further issue concerning the inclusion of hearer response and its effect on the data is raised when considering languages such as Japanese and Persian, which anecdotal evidence indicates may rely more on nonconventionally indirect strategies. Whether these cultures actually do make greater use of hints in requesting is, of course, an empirical question. But given the potential effect of including the hearer response, the (unrevised) DCT may not be a suitable instrument for collecting request data in these languages.

A final criticism of the research methodology of the CCSARP is that of Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones, who point out that ethnographic methods need to be used in conjunction with questionnaires. In fact, a few of the papers in CCP mention ethnographic data which bears on requests and apologies. However, far too little mention of such work is made. While pointing out that NS perceptions of their own speech are not necessarily accurate, Wolfson et al. fail to mention that the DCT asks subjects to report not only what they might say in a given situation, but what someone else might say, and this other person is often of quite different social status and power. Clearly, then, the DCT should be both refined, as well as supplemented by a more comprehensive data collection process.

In the introduction to CCP, Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper note that there is a need to move away from Anglo-cultural ethnocentricity in the study of speech acts by widening the scope of languages and cultures studied, and that CCSARP "meets this challenge . . . though admittedly English (with the three varieties studied) still occupies a central position" (p.22). Their intentions are certainly correct: there is a need to widen the scope of speech act research. However, their claim that the CCSARP does this is rather hollow. Of all the languages and language varieties studied in the CCSARP (including nonnative varieties), six of thirteen are English. All but two of the remaining seven are Indo-European, in fact, either Germanic or Romance. Hebrew (both native and nonnative) is the only language which represents a real widening of the scope of languages studied. Further, all of the cultures studied are either Western, or heavily influenced by Western culture. Indeed, the DCT itself was designed to reflect "every day occurrences of the type expected to be familiar to speakers across Western cultures" (p.14, emphasis added).

What is an interesting finding, though, especially from such a narrow scope, is that there are considerable linguistic and cultural differences in requests and apologies. Such differences seem to have prompted the separate consideration of apologies in German. The fact that differences arise in such closely related languages and cultures underscores the need to widen the scope of research, and to consider all conclusions tentative.

A further criticism of CCP has to do with selection of languages for analysis. Not all languages were considered in all papers, and, indeed, no one paper considered data from all languages. The rationale for such choices is never explained or justified. In Olshtain's paper on apologies, German is excluded from the discussion at several points with no mention as to why. Also, the CCSARP data represent an excellent opportunity for a detailed study of subtle pragmatic differences in six varieties of English. One would have hoped that all of the data collected by the CCSARP would have been taken into consideration, or that if data were excluded, some explanation would be offered. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

One of the main objectives of the CCSARP, indeed, of any cross-cultural speech act research, is to investigate issues of pragmatic universals. Given the above criticisms of the research methodology and the narrow scope of the CCSARP, any conclusions concerning pragmatic universals must be considered tentative. However, CCP does raise some interesting questions involving universals.

Conventional indirectness is a central issue in speech act theory. Blum-Kulka et al. claim to have found a universal category of conventionally indirect request strategies in the CCSARP data. This category is characterized by conventionalization of means and form, pragmatic duality, and negotiability. All languages in their study used requests of this type more than any other type. They maintain that this supports Searle's claim that conventional indirectness is universal. They also point out that language-specific differences in realization of conventional indirectness are not counter-evidence to universalistic claims. In fact, languages did differ significantly in the formal means used for conventional indirectness, but this a problem more for translation than pragmatic theory. As Searle (1975) notes, forms may lose their conventional indirect force when translated literally. Further, Brown and Levinson (1987) have shown that "superficial diversities can emerge from underlying universal principles" (p.56). Thus, while formal variation across languages is to be expected and may present no problems for universal claims, any such claims based on the CCSARP must be considered tentative: the data collection process must be refined and make use of more than questionnaires, and the scope of the languages and cultures studied must be widened before any strong universal claims can be warranted.

Another interesting issue raised in CCP concerns the relationship between indirectness and politeness. Blum-Kulka points out that the social value of indirectness may vary from culture to culture, thus there is not necessarily a fixed relationship between politeness and level of directness. To illustrate her point, she presents an account of a couple living in Israel in which the husband was a native Israeli, but the wife had been raised in France. She notes that the husband was often offended by his wife's use of indirect requests, and concludes that indirectness carried conflicting social meanings for this husband and wife. Blum-Kulka then notes that, as one of her Israeli informants said, "politeness is irrelevant between intimates" (p.67). It is not clear whether this is Blum-Kulka's conclusion, but this may not be the case. That is, while it is clear that cultures may place different values on directness levels, it is not clear from Blum-Kulka's discussion that politeness is irrelevant between intimates in Israeli society. The fact that the husband took offense would seem to indicate that there are in fact norms for politeness between intimates in Israeli society. The wife, however, may not have been observing them: she had a different set of norms.

CCP, then, is a valuable addition to the voluminous literature on speech acts. It underscores the need for further research which employs more refined and complete data elicitation techniques and which considers a wider scope of languages and cultures. Although little can be gained from CCP in the way of substantive conclusions, the work represented here can serve as an excellent foundation and guide for further developments in speech act research. For this aspect alone, then, CCP is an important work that all those interested in speech acts will want to be familiar with.

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REQUEST-COMPLIANCE/NON-COMPLIANCE IN ENGLISH AND ITALIAN PUBLIC SERVICE ENCOUNTERS *

Anna Ciliberti

This paper contrasts the culturally marked discursive style in Italian and English public service encounters by concentrating on the management of request-compliance and request-non-compliance. It does so by analyzing the linguistic realization of 'evidentiality' - the way interactants express their attitudes towards the communicated information and the sources from which it originates. The data for the study are derived from recordings of request-compliance/non-compliance in bookshop encounters.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is part of a larger research project on culturally marked discursive styles (protostyles) in Italian and English public service encounters; more precisely, in bookshop encounters. In the type of speech event under investigation, culturally marked discursive styles are apparent in request-compliance/non-compliance sequences. Here I shall discuss request-compliance/non-compliance very briefly, concentrating on the management of non-compliance. To do this I shall analyze the linguistic realizations of a notional category—that of 'evidentiality'—adopting what has been called "the informative perspective of utterances in discourse" (Biber and Fenegan, 1986). This consists of analyzing the way interactants express their attitudes towards the communicated information and the sources from which it originates. In other words, I want to examine the epistemic and epistemological character of (certain) assertions. The former characterizes the 'factuality' of an event in and of itself, without considering the information source, while the latter considers its occurrence in view of the source from which it originates. According to S. Chung and A. Timberlake (1985: 244):

> "An event may be asserted to be factual, or else its actuality may be dependent on the source in one of several ways. Some of the relevant submodes here include: (i) experiential, in which the event is characterized as experienced by the sourse; (ii) inferential ..., in which the event is characterized as inferred from another source; (iii) quotative, in which the event is reported from another source; and (iv) the submode in which the event is a construct (thought, belief, fantasy) of the source."

A notional category expressing both the epistemic and the epistemological status of assertions is 'evidentiality', defined by L. B. Anderson (1987) as: "The kind of evidence a person has for making factual claims" (54).

According to Anderson, evidentials—the linguistic realizations of evidentiality—include both lexemes and morphemes (inflectional and clitics, at least in some languages), and other free syntactic elements: some types of adverbials, verbs of perception and epistemic modals.[1] Thus, they include what B. Fraser (1987) calls dissociating devices and Brown and Levinson (1978) quality hedges. Some of these, such as 'perhaps', 'possibly', 'I think', 'it might be', 'to the best of my recollection', give the impression of reducing the speaker's commitment towards what he is saying and suggest that he is "not taking full responsibility for the truth of his utterances" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 169). Other expressions, such as 'I absolutely promise/believe that...', on the contrary, "stress the speaker's commitment to the truth of his utterance" (ibid).

Both the type and the degree of evidentiality provided by bookshop assistants in dealing with clients' requests is of significance because in all communicative events, but perhaps especially in public service encounters, interactants: "...enter a sort of social contract which operates dynamically ... in the form of expectancies and obligations" (Anderson 1987:7).

Such obligations and expectations contribute fundamentally to give conceptual substance to the implicit, culturally determined, notion of what, in public service encounters, constitutes 'a good assistant'. One of the obligations of the 'good assistant' is to comply with a client's request, or, if unable to do so, to account for that inability and to find alternative solutions. Some of the research questions I try to answer are thus the following:
-How is knowledge used and presented by the interactants in the particular speech event?
-Is the shop assistant certain, doubtful, vague while giving information?
-How does the shop assistant behave when he cannot satisfy the request? Does he give explanations, justifications, does he apologize?
-And how does the client react?

VERBAL STRATEGIES USED BY ITALIAN SHOP ASSISTANTS IN NON-COMPLIANCE WITH REQUESTS

I shall first very briefly compare the ways of request-compliance is dealt with by Italian and English assistants, starting with the Italians. The Italian assistants in our data always seem to know whether or not a book is in stock; their affirmative or negative answers are direct and certain: no hesitation is shown, no dissociating devices, epistemic modals, or lexical elements indicating uncertainty and hesitation are used. Thus, when the client's request can be complied with, the answer often consists of a simple 'yes'; if there is a verb it is in the present tense. Let's look at a few examples:[2]

BO 5a 02
C(lient): Vorrei sapere se avete questo libro. + Di Eastwood e: Mackin, $ "A basic % English grammar".
(I'd like to know whether you've got this book + by Eastwood and: Mackin)
A(ssistant): $Si%

BO 5a 03
C: Questo: - Volevo prendere questo libro con: eh (quello degl esercizi $se c'è.%
(I'd like to buy this book together with: er (?the one) of exercises, if you've got it)
A: $Si.%

BO 5a 04b
C: Vorrei defli Alfa books.
(I'd like some Alfa Books)
A: Sono - è questa colanina qua.
(They are - it is this little collection here)

BO 5a 14b
A: $ Dica.%
Cl: $ Io cer%cavo "Life styles" tre.
(I was looking for "Lifestyles" three)
A: + Tre- si c'è.
(Number three - yes we have it)

PIF I 14a
C: Senta, io volevo + "Malombra", del Fogazzaro.
(Excuse me, I wanted + Malombra - by Fogazzaro)
A: + Sì

When the assistants are instead unable to comply with the request, two different situations may arise: an abnormal, or unusual, situation and a more normal one. Let us look at these in turn.

'Abnormal' situation

The book is not available for a particular reason nor is there any way in which it can be readily made so, and the assistant explains why. Giving an explanation may, in itself, be an acknowledgement that 'something out of the ordinary has happened' (S. Yearly 1987: 188); in other words, it can be an admission of "departure from normality."[3] In our data, there are relatively few instances of dispreferred responses accompanied by explanation. Let us look at a few examples:

BO 5a 01
(...)
A: No, non è che non ce l'ho, + sembra che non ci sia proprio neanche in Francia.
(No, the point is not that I haven't got it, + apparently it is not available, not even in France)

BO 5a 14d
(...)
A: Non è: % Non m'è tornato. E': quattro mesi che gli dò la caccia.
(It isn't: % It hasn't arrived. I've been: waiting for it for months.)
(...)
A: No:n non siamo, riusciti a ripenscarlo per il momento.
(No, we haven't succeeded in finding it so far)

BO 5a 12
(...)
A: E' un' edizione scolastica che noi NON teniamo.
(It's a school edition we do NOT stock)

BO 5a 20
(...)
C: =Di questo qui, eh: esistono anche le cassette (1 syll)
(=For this one, and : do you know whether there are also the tapes?)
A: S: - esistono, e:rm non le ho, e le prendo su prenotazione con un acconto, cos:tano + molto care (...)
(They exist, e:rm, I haven't got them, and I only order upon request with a deposit, they are + very expensive)

PIF 1a 15
(...)
A: Allora Se - Se- Se- (allora-)
(03)
A: Serpieri, ahi, ahi, ahi, niente da fare. (01) Cinquantacinque. (06) Serpieri "Le strutture de- profonde" è esaurito signorina. $Non% c'è niente da fare. (Well then, Se- Se- Se- (?1syll) Serpieri, oh, oh, oh, nothing to do. + + Fifty five. Serpieri "Le strutture profonde" is out of print. $There's %nothing to be done.)

'Normal' situation

The book is not available but no explicit reason or explanation is given. Linguistically, the response very often contains the same central element, the formula 'è in arrivo' ('the book is coming in'), expressing a sort of "ritual redressive action" (Bergman M. & G. Kasper, in press). The automaticity of the formula highlights the fact that its meaning is only seemingly, or generically, explicative. The following example makes the mistake clear: Actually the book is available; it is not coming in:

BO 5a0
(...)
A: Sì, c'è anche non integra:le - (03)
A: Però non ce l'ho tutto. Ho solo il primo e il terzo. ++ Il secondo è in arriv- ah no primo e secon- no va bene allora, scusi + In due volumetti.
(... Yes, there is also a non-integral edition available: I haven't got all the books. I've only got the first and the third book. ++ The second is going to come i- Ah, no, the first and the secon- No, all right then, excuse me + it is in two volumes.)

The vagueness and the formulaic nature of the response are also emphasized by the fact that the formula 'è in arivo' can replace the negative response 'no' so that we have to discard the hypothesis that it may be a compensative routine strategy. This is strengthened by the fact that, even after a negative 'no', the response is not preceded by 'ma' (but) which would indicate its counterbalancing function for the dispreferred responses: 'No, but it is coming in'.

To recapitulate, when the assistant offers an explicit explanation for the dispreferred response, there is an unusual reason for the non-availability of the book.[4] On the other hand, it seems logical and part of the notion 'normality' that the book not be available because it is going to come in. The assistant only offers a description - the book is going to come - of a ritualistic type, which takes on an explicative implication while still maintaining its features of 'a convenient social fiction' (Garginkel, cit in L. Anderson, 1988: 17).[5]

The dispreferred response may also be followed by an indication of when the book will arrive. In such cases the verbal mood is usually conditional - 'dovrei averlo...' (I should have it...), dovrebbe arrivare...' (it should come in...) - and the temporal specification is vague: 'tomorrow, the day after tomorrow', 'Tuesday or Wednesday', 'in ten days or two weeks', etc. The tentativeness and caution expressed by the conditional and by the two temporal choices can be further emphasized in a variety of ways. Here are some examples:

BO 5a 13d
(...)
A: (...) eh non sono ancora arrivati - % ++ Mi arrivano per posta, in genere il tempo è più o meno QUESto, cioè una $$ settimana dieci giorni. Però essendo la posta %% italiana non s- non abbiamo MAI un giorno preciso. $ $ $ non è che arrivi (tutti i) venerdì %%%
(... eh they haven't arrived yet, % ++ they come by mail, generally this is more or less the time it takes, a week $$ or ten days. But with the Italian %%post we never have a fixed day. $$ Friday is not a rule)

BO 5a 19
(...)
A: (...) + lunedì sera mi torna
(...) + it'll be in on Monday evening)
A: (...) Però lunedì se:ra, novantanove su cento c'è già qua in libreria
(But on monday e:vening, ninety nine per cent it'll be here)

BO 5a 21h
(...)
A: =Mi arriveranno martedì mercoledì. + + Almeno, in teoria + dovrebbero arrivarmi (ride)
(They will arrive on Tuesday or Wednesday, ++ At least in theory + they should arrive) (laughs)

BO 5a 23
(...)
A: (...) Dovrebbe arrivare verso martedì, mercoledì, m'han detto.
(It should arrive around Tuesday, Wednesday, I've been told.)

As we may observe in the last example (5a 23), the assistant, by mentioning an information source, although an imprecise one, avoids taking sides. Another way not to 'commit oneself' to the truth of his utterance, is to ask the customer to 'try again', 'to come to the bookshop again' or 'to telephone' in order to know whether or not the book has arrived:

BO 5a 26
(...)
A: (...) può provare domani domani l'altro a vedere.
(You can try tomorrow the day after tomorrow)

BO 5a 19
(...)
A: =Mi telefoni, caso mai se ce l'ho - + alle sette mi telefoni
(Call me to see whether I've got it, + call me at seven)

BO 5a 09a
(...)
A: (...) Co%munque o passi o telefoni.
(Any%way either stop in or give us a ring)

The assistants never apologize for not being able to comply with the clients' request. Dispreferred answers are neither followed nor preceded by remedial work.[6] The assistants tend to counter the implicitly negative answer - 'It's coming in' - by stating that the request will be fulfilled, without - or very rarely - supplying precise information about when this will occur. However, the discursive non-responsibility does not correspond to a disclaimer, or non-assumption, of personal and social responsibility. The assistants are committed to their jobs and identify with their occupational roles. The fact that they do not appear to assume any responsibility for non-compliance with the clients' request is probably motivated by the fact that any statement about when a book is coming in can compromise their image as reliable persons. They do not want to lose credibility, they do not want to ruin their reputation of being 'good assistants'.

On the other hand, the customers seem to accept this situation without any apparent dissatisfaction. Sometimes they almost apologize for having made a request which they feel might embarrass the assistant:

BO 5a 14d
(...)
C: $Quindi: eh non sono ancora arrivati - % + Mi arrivano per posta, in genere il tempo è più o meno QUESto, cioè una $$ settimana dieci giorni. Però essendo la posta %% italiana non s- non abbiamo MAI un giorno preciso, $ $ $ non è che arrivi (tutti i) venerdì % % %.
($So: they haven't come in yet % ++ They come by mail, generally the time it takes is more or less $$ a week ten days. With the Italian post %% you never have an exact day. They don't come (every) Friday %%%.)
C: $$ S::1 %%
C: $$$Mn. Sì sì, ma passavo di %%% qui hh
($$$Mn. Yes yes, but I was %%% nearby)
A: = Prego.
(You're welcome)
C: Arrivederci.
A: Arrivederci.

It should be pointed out that the customer justifies his having bothered the assistant by making it understood that not having found the book is not a matter of great importance to him, thus exempting the assistant from any responsibility. The assistant, in fact, takes this remark as implicit thanks and replies with 'you're welcome' (prego), while we would have expected something like: 'that's all right then', or 'I'm glad your didn't come here on purpose'. The customer, in other words, seems to want the assistant to believe that his request for the book has to be interpreted more as a request for information about the book than as a specific request for the book. Let's examine another example:

BO 5a 14e
(...)
A: =No:n - non siamo riusciti a ripescarlo per il momento. + Non so quanto ci metteremo a riaverlo.
(No: we haven't succeeded in finding it so far. I don't know how long it will take to have it)
C: Bene.
(Fine/all right)

Saying 'bene' (all right) in a absolutely non-ironical way, the customer seems to express satisfaction for the information obtained - the book is not available - and this seems to be enough for him. In the following example, the customer concludes by saying something which is implicit in the assistant's observation: it is not worthwhile ordering the book from France. The customer doesn't seem to be disappointed; on the contrary, he laughs at the remark:

BO 5a 17b
C:	Non val la pensa insomma (ride) + Grazie.
	(It is not worthwhile, then &he laughs & Thank you)

As Heritage (1984: 622) has pointed out, "Conventionally, persons display their understanding of news by preferring assessments of the news."[7] In other words, 'assessing news' is constitutive, at least partially, of their understanding. Thus, normally, the reaction to information is to display understanding of it - "mark receipt of it as news" - and then evaluate it - "assess it" (ibid). In 13d the customer acknowledges the information given by the assistant by proffering an assessment of it - "Mn, sì, sì" - and then evaluates it - "ma passavo di qui" ("but I was nearby"). He does not display an understanding of the informational content, but of what he considers implicit in the assistant's response, i.e., a kind of reproach for having implied that a precise answer - and a date - should exist in relation to the delivery of the book. The customer tries to find a remedy for the assistant's implicit reproach by pretending to know what is 'normal': he didn't expect to find the book, he was nearby and he thought he might as well drop in... In a similar way, in 14d the customer evaluates the information he was given ("all right') without taking into consideration its negative content, i.e., that the book is not available and nobody knows when it will be delivered. In 17b, finally, the customer marks receipt of the information as a piece of news and then assesses it, apparently without annoyance at the implicitly negative consequences. his assessment - 'it isn't even worth ordering it' - is neither confirmed nor denied by the assistant. Again, it seems as if the customer wanted above all to know something about the book, claiming that what interests him is having the piece of information, not actually finding the object itself.

VERBAL STRATEGIES USED BY ENGLISH SHOP ASSISTANTS IN NON-COMPLIANCE WITH REQUESTS

The two English assistants whose verbal strategies I shall now analyze are very different from each other. The first one, J., is a strong, self-confident person, while the second, P., is extremely unsure, cautious and imprecise. While J. is always certain whether or not a book is in stock, P. shows extreme caution and tentativeness in his answers. J. uses direct assertions, generally employing the simple present, while P. largely uses both mitigating devices - I think, well, perhaps - and modals expressing possibility - may, might, could, ought to - which give the impression of non-commitment or of a lack of competence. Let us look at some typical examples. First of all, J.

1b 31
A:	Yeah.
C:	Um: I'm looking for a title - called "Bodymind" by Ken: Dychttwald.
J:	+ Don't know it. How do you spell the $ (name)?%
C:	D Y C H T W A L D. It's er Wildwood: House.
J:	D Y, C H?
C:	Yeah
(23)
C:	It may be out of print, if it $was published-%
J:	$Three ninety% five, Wildwood House.
C:	Yeah.
J:	That's all I can TELL you about it. Um:-
C:	Not one $you stock%
J:	$D'you know-%
J:	==It's not one I stock.

1b 24
J: Can I help you?
C: Um: Have you got Popper's "Conjectures and Refutations" or (Du Chesne)-
J: Mn. No we haven't at the moment I'm afraid(...)

1b 33
C: I'm looking for- er: a book of Bible stories, and I was told that Penguin did one.
J: (01) $Mhm?%
C: $(I mean)% the Bible-
J: (01) No. Penguins don't do one, no (...)

Let us now look at some of P.'s answers:

1a 01b
C: Do you sell any philosophy journals, i.e. "Mind" or "Philosophy?"
P: Er well erm ++ (consults colleague) "Radical Philosophy," yes.
C: Is that the only one you do.
P: Yes it is. Well, apart from "Mind" occasionally, but we haven't got "Mind" in stock at the moment.
C: Have you not. + Do you know where I could get it?
P: Er "Mind," you mean? Erm: I think yes, the Alternative: Booksales in Camden Park Green.
C: + They'd sell it there, would they?
P: +Erm:
(06)
C: Perhaps the British Library would: - I could just go in there and read it, couldn't I, order it.
P: Er I would $think so, yes%
(...)

1a 02
C: Hallo
P: Hallo
C: Er do you keep (any of these) books at this (department)?
(02)
P: Er sorry which ones are we: er looking at.
C: =This. This or: the other.
(5)
P: I think this would be um - oh I see yes. That's interesting. ++ Er:-
C: + I think- $ they% say that this was from the publisher.
P: $I-%
P: Yes: I think that $one would% be in the languages department.
(...)

1a 09
C: I- I'm looking for uhm + books on ethics: + par$ticularly- % medical ethics.
P: $On ethics. % ++ Er yes we have erm about a couple of titles on + medical eth$ics:%
C: $There's a-% I can't remember the name- it's a thin- there's a series of them erm published erm from: uhm -
P: Prentice Hall.
C =Stanford I think. + $Stanford% University.
P: $Oh. %
P: I don't know about those we've got erm:-
C: Oh, might. They're- they've- they're quite thin. There's there's-

P: Well this is thin, $ but I% don't quite think it's the series you're thinking of somehow, it's erm -
C: $Yeah. %

When the assistants are unable to comply with the request, it is possible to identify two distinct situations in the English data, too: a 'normal' situation which requires a simple routine explanation, and an 'abnormal' one.

'Abnormal' situation

An abnormal situation requires an exact and precise account of the reason why the book is not available. Let us look at some examples:

1b 01
(...)
P: I DON't think we've got it - we used to keep it, but I don't think we have it any longer. Didn't sell very + many.

1b 39
(...)
P: Um: well no, it's rather curious this one. i- it: um + WE didn't take it + in religion + and it rather looks as if nobody took it ANYwhere.

1b 49
(...)
P: Oh I'm afraid it's reprinting.

2a 05
C: You don't have this book in: paperback, do you?
P: + No it, erm: may appear, + in paperback before long, but erm, (01) the whole of the Bark publications are in a bit of a MESS because...

2a 17b
C: Can you tell me whether you have a hardback of this?
J: No we don't keep the paperback version.

1b 29
(...)
J: No we haven't got it at the moment I'm afraid. + Um + (sottovoce) I'm trying to find out why not.
(10)
(sottovoce) (No, it's) (??) It's on order. It's: coming from the United States of America.
C: =Yeah
J: =So it's going to be some time before its gets here. It's been on order for: + six weeks now, so hopefully within the next three to four weeks, we should have it.

'Normal' situation

In the other situation, what is most striking when compared to the Italian data is the different temporal context. The most usual replies are related to the present situation, to the unavailability of the book: 'We've sold out', 'It's sold out', 'We are out'. Attention is thus focussed on the present, negative, situation which constitutes an explicit explanation of the reason why the book is not there. In the

Italian data, on the contrary, as we have seen, attention is focussed on a future situation, the most frequent reply being: 'The book is coming in'. The Italian formula carries out several functions: (i) it implicitly informs the customer, in the absence of an overt 'no', of the unavailability of the book; (ii) it gives the reason for this unavailability - the book is not available because it has not come in yet; (iii) it replies to an inevitable next question concerning the course of action undertaken - if the book is coming in it has been ordered. Furthermore, presenting a positive compliance with the request, the formula weakens the gravety of the non-compliance with the request. It gives the customer to understand that 'the book is not there but it is almost as if it were there'. In English, the focus on the negativeness of the present situation makes some remedial work necessary. In fact, the negativeness is often minimized by an 'at the moment', which implies repairability. Moreover, it is followed by remedial work of a compensatory nature, often introduced by a 'but', or containing an 'already'. Thus, the most frequent non-compliant response consists of two stages: (i) negative present situation; (ii) remedial action of various sorts: (a) minimization of negativity, (b) apology, (c) justification. Let us look at some examples:

1b 03b
(...)
P: Er: well WE'VE sold out (-) at the moment (-) but they also keep it: + UPStairs in sociology on the second floor.

1b 41
(...)
P: &Ah. Yes. % We are out of it (-) at the moment. (-) It- It is on order, and may arrive at any moment(...)

1b 04
(...)
P: $YES, it's: % um sold out. (-) it's re$$printing %% alREADY. (-) and it's due to come back again. They're HOPing about the eighteen of: THIS month.

1a 02
(...)
P: No. We're out of THAT one (-) but $we have stocked % it- (-) they MIGHT have it next door in languages (...)

1a 04a
(...)
C: Yes, have you got Robert Burchfield's "English Language?"
P: No.
C: =Or have you sold out?
P: Yes. (-) it's reprinting already. (-) $ and it's due on: the sixteenth % of February, I think.

1b 24
(...)
J: =Mn. No we haven't (-) at the moment. (-) I'm afraid. (-) We're waiting for some more to come in - Hopefully they're coming in next week.

2a 16a
(...)
J: No, we've sold out of that one (-) at the moment.

2a 19
(...)
J: (...) No we've sold out I'm afraid. (-) We've got some more on order. (-) and hopefully they're going to be in: by the end of this week, next we- middle of next week. You COULD go downstairs to the: science department. (...)

CONCLUSIONS

Contrastive analysis shows significant cultural differences in the ways in which bookshop assistants submit a negative state of affairs to their customers. In the Italian culture or subculture our data refer to, it seems that the book is not always or necessarily what is requested, but rather some basic information about the book: Will the book, sooner or later, be in?[8] For this reason the shop assistant gives non-formulaic information when the book is not available or when it will not be in within a 'reasonable' time. For the same reason, the customer appears to apologize when he thinks he has given the impression of expecting a precise answer and minimizes the trouble caused by the non-compliance with his request. Moreover when a routine formula is being used, it is explicative - even if only implicitly - and it displays a positive future situation rather than a negative present one, thus requiring no remedial action.

In the English replies, too, there is vagueness as to when a book will be in again. But there is always an explicit explanation of the non-availability of the book, even if in a formulaic way, and this is accompanied by remedial action of various kinds: minimization (it's sold out at the moment, ...but...); apology (I'm afraid. I'm sorry); justification. All this seems to be made necessary by the formula employed, which makes it compulsory for the assistant to take discursive responsibility.

It might be of interest at this point to compare this analysis with R. Singh's et al (1988) account of English and Hindi denials. According to Singh, the greatest difference in the two languages/cultures consists in the fact that: "...whereas in Hindi the burden of denial is assumed by a statement about the world, in English it is assumed by what appears to be a statement of personal responsibility". Here is a good example in point:

1. English: A: Could you stay for lunch?
B: I'd love to but I can't.

2. Hindi: A: kyā mãĩ āpkī sāikil le lũ?[9]
Q. I your bicycle take take opt=
Could I borrow your bicycle?
B: de to detā par muʃhe bāzār ʃānā hai
Give L give impf but I dat market go inf be pres =
I would have of course given it to you but I have to go to the market.

In example 2, B has to go to the market in the same way as A, in example 1, doesn't feel like accepting the invitation. Singh says:

> "...one could say something like the following: Hindi speakers feel that responsibility assuming statements are neither appropriate nor enough and insist on something like what they provide because it supplies what they believe to be an objective reason for (...) an explanation" (51).

Coming back to our data, the obligatory and routine nature of the formulae used for non-compliance with requests accounts for the differences in verbal strategies adopted by the Italians and the English assistants, who are bound by the conventions of their respective languages to act the way they do. The verbal strategies employed thus become 'structurally required steps', and should not be subjected to verification as to (absolute) values of truth, sincerity, politeness, and the like. In other words, the differences in verbal strategies should not provide, in the words of Singh et al., "convenient pegs on which to hang prejudicial hats" (ibid).

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NOTES

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1. P. Westney (1986:312) lists, among the most common forms expressing epistemic modality, the so-called 'epistemic qualifiers': I know, I think, may, might, must, should, will, would, perhaps, certainly, possible, likely, certain, sure.

2. The symbols preceding the text are to be interpreted as follows: The letters and the numbers preceding the encounters (for instance BO 5a) refer to the bookshop where the particular data were collected - BO stands for an Italian town - and to the number of the encounter collected in that bookshop.

Transcription symbols represent the following categories:

C:	client
A:	assistant
(text)	comments (paralinguistic and extralinguistic features)
(?text)	tape unclear: tentative transcription
(?nsyll)	tape untranscribable: n = approximate number of syllables spoken
(??)	tape untranscribable
:	lengthening of previous sound or syllable (number of colons indicates extent of lengthening)
+	short pause (less than one second)
++	long pause (more than one second)
(n)	long pause (n = length in seconds)
=	latching to previous turn
==	latching to previous-but-one turn in transcript
$text%	latching with the following speaker
$$text%%	latching with preceding speaker
$text&/	
$$text&&	spoken in overlap with next/previous $text&/$$text&&
text-	syllable cut short
text -	tone group interrupted
.	low fall intonation
?	low rise intonation

, rise fall intonation
! fall rise intonation
TEXT stressed syllable or in loud voice

3. On the contrary, as Yearley (1987: 188) notices: "... an explanation can occur as a way of indicating that whatever is going on, abnormal though it may appear, is actually an instance of normal activity".
4. "... explanatory accounts are associated with issues of justification, legitimacy and the negotiations of 'normal conduct'" (Yearley 1987: 188).
5. Yearley (1987:188) maintains that "... factual reports are searched for their explanatory implicativeness."
6. What I mean by 'remedial work' is significantly different from 'repair work' as used in Conversational Analysis. For me, it is a psychological and functional concept. In Conversational Analysis, 'repair work' is a structural concept, first of all relating to the position occupied by a portion of language employed to solve a problem caused by what has been previously mentioned.
7. Heritage (1984: 622), in A. Pomerantz (1984).
8. A good example in point is the following:

Bof 4b 05
(...)
C: non c'è?
(You haven't got it?)
A: E' in arrivo.
(It's coming in)
C: E' in arRIvo però, $ecco% Non è che sia s:parito totalmente.
(It IS coming in, though $isn't it?% It hasn't disappeared altogether)
A: $Sì.%
A: Il problema è che tarderà un PO'.
(The problem is that it will take some time)
C: Va be':.
(Never mind)
A: = Direi almeno la metà di febbraio.
(I'd say at least until mid-February)
C: Va be', besta che - + dopo c'è (...)
(Never mind, provided that - + it will be here)

9. The glosses used in the Hindi examples are as follows: Q=Question particle; L=limited particle; opt=optative;impf=imperfect;dat=dative;inf=infinitive; pres=present.

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A SENSITIVE PERIOD FOR SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A REACTION-TIME GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TASK WITH KOREAN-ENGLISH BILINGUALS

Ryonhee Kim

This study was conducted to test the sensitive period hypothesis in second language acquisition: Sixty Korean speakers of English (those who began learning English at ages varying from 0 to 29 years and had spent a minimum of five years in the United States) were tested for their ability to judge the grammaticality of English sentences in 12 grammatical categories in a reaction-time task. The findings suggest that a sensitive period exists in second language acquisition, particularly in terms of sentence-processing speed (automaticity), as evidenced by uniformly faster performance by early-learner L2 groups than by late-learner L2 groups. It also appears that, if one starts to learn an L2 within the sensitive period, he/she can achieve native-speaker-like L2 proficiency but that, if one starts to learn an L2 outside that period, he/she might not be able to achieve such L2 proficiency.

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who is concerned with second language learning and/or teaching should realize the importance of discovering whether or not there exists an optimal age for L2 learning. Conventional wisdom would say "the earlier the better," which is in full agreement with the claims made by the sensitive period hypothesis (SPH) in second language acquisition (SLA). The reality, however, is that some people are reluctant to accept this axiom and, as a consequence, delay putting it into practice (e.g., Flege, 1987; Snow, 1987; Singleton, 1987). For this reason, there arises a need to demonstrate that the SPH is relevant to SLA, and to explain the precise characteristics of the sensitive period for SLA. Previous studies (e.g., Asher & García, 1969; Seliger, Krashen, & Ladefoged, 1975; Oyama, 1976, 1978; Patkowski, 1980; Johnson & Newport, 1989) on the SPH have contributed much to this end. However, the number of such studies is regrettably too limited to provide full support for the hypothesis. Furthermore, there are still several unsolved problems with regard to the exact nature of the sensitive period. The present study was undertaken with the intention of helping to resolve these problems.

The present study was designed to determine what effects age exerts on SLA by examining the relationship between age of L2 onset (i.e., age at which language learners are first exposed to L2 input in natural environments) and the ultimate proficiency of Korean-English bilinguals in a test of English grammar. More specifically, the main purpose of the study was to determine whether a sensitive period exists in SLA. In the process, the study attempted to reveal how the sensitive period is manifested in SLA. Two aspects of the proposed sensitive period were explored--the ultimate level of L2 proficiency and the ending point of the sensitive period.

EXPERIMENT

Subjects

Subjects consisted of 60 Korean speakers of English who were either born in the United States or who arrived between the ages of 1 and 29. Subjects were divided into six age-of-onset groups, with age of onset equal to their age upon exposure to English in the United States. The six age-of-onset groups had 10 subjects each and subjects were grouped according to age of English onset as follows: 0-2, 3-5, 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-29.[1]

There were 28 males and 32 females, and subjects' mean age was 21.2, ranging from 18 to 29. The number of years subjects had spent in the U.S. ranged from 5 to 21, with the average being 12.8. Since what is of interest here was the ultimate level of proficiency, subjects were selected so that the minimal length of stay was not less than 5 years. All subjects were undergraduate or graduate students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

In order to provide baseline performance on tests of English, 10 native monolingual speakers of English were also included. There were 8 females and 2 males in this group. Their mean age was 26.3 and they varied in age from 23 to 36. All were graduate students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Materials

Test materials consisted of 96 English sentences with 8 sentences representing each of 12 English rule types. Half of the sentences were grammatical; half were ungrammatical. That is, for each grammatical sentence there was a counterpart ungrammatical sentence. For example, if a grammatical sentence was, "Rosa got married to Martin in 1984," its corresponding ungrammatical sentence was, "*Rosa got married with Martin in 1984."

Sentences were designed to measure the subjects' proficiency in English syntax and morphology. The grammatical categories included were (1) past tense (verb inflection); (2) plural; (3) subject-verb agreement (present tense); (4) tense; (5) determiners; (6) pronominalization; (7) particle movement in phrasal verbs; (8) verb subcategorization; (9) auxiliary + verb constructions; (10) questions; (11) word order; and (12) prepositions. These grammatical categories were almost identical to those used in a related study by Johnson and Newport (1989) and by Shim (1991).

Procedure

Sentences were presented using a reaction-time program developed by Marx (1988). The test program was run in the Language Laboratory at the University of Illinois, where subjects were tested individually. The 96 English sentences were computer randomized anew for each subject, and were presented one at a time on an IBM PC. Subjects were instructed to press the T key if the sentence was grammatical and the F key if it was ungrammatical. Subjects' reaction times (RTs) to each sentence were measured automatically and recorded onto a computer diskette. Erroneous responses were also marked as such by the program.

After the RT test, an informal grammaticality judgment test was conducted in a non-timed situation. This was to determine if there was any difference between subjects' performance in the timed task and in a non-timed task. Finally, subjects were asked language-background and affective-variable questions in written form. (Analysis of their responses to these questions is beyond the scope of this paper.)

RESULTS

The test used in the present study yielded three dependent variables: speed and error rate in the RT task and accuracy in the non-timed test. For the data analysis, a MANOVA, one-way ANOVAs and Pearson product moment correlational tests were conducted.[2] These analyses are reported below.

Speed of Sentence Processing

Average scores were calculated for each group in terms of RT. Both grammatical and ungrammatical test sentences were considered in calculating each subject's mean RT. For each subject, an RT greater than 2.5 standard deviations from that subject's mean was arbitrarily designated as an outlier and was discarded. RTs for incorrect responses were also excluded in calculating the average RT scores. The overall performance of the subjects can be seen in Figure 1 and Table 1. (RTs are reported in seconds.)

Figure 1. Mean RT for Each Group

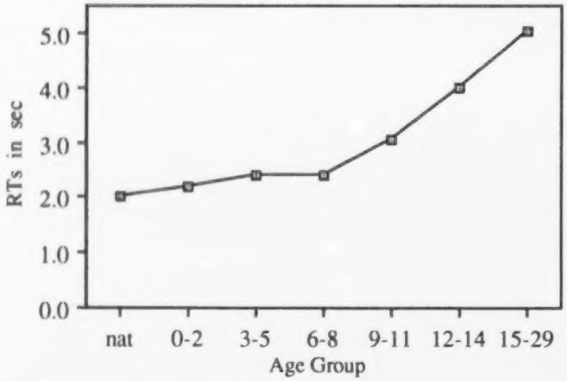

Table 1. Mean RT for Each Group

	Native	0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-29
mean RT	2.03	2.18	2.35	2.39	3.07	4.00	5.02
s.d.	0.36	0.30	0.70	0.35	0.75	1.14	1.69
range	1.58-2.69	1.84-2.79	1.48-3.53	1.86-2.90	2.10-4.75	3.04-6.16	3.95-8.66

A one-way ANOVA was conducted, and it revealed a significant group difference [F(6,63) = 14.99, p < .0001]. A post-hoc test (LSD) revealed that the three early L2 groups (the 0-2, 3-5, and 6-8 age groups) showed no significant differences from the native group in their mean RTs. Indeed, there was considerable overlap among these four groups, as the ranges in Table 1 show.

It was the 9-11 group which first began to show a significant difference from the native group in their processing speed. This is quite evident in Figure 1 which shows a sudden sharp increase in RTs between the 6-8 and 9-11 groups. However, the 9-11 group was significantly different only from the 0-2 group, showing no differences from the 3-5 and 6-8 groups. Variability increased as the age of onset increased for the 9-11, 12-14, and 15-29 groups, with the overall standard deviations being larger for these three than for the other three early age groups. (Hereafter, the 0-2, 3-5, and 6-8 groups will be referred to as the Early Group, and the 9-11, 12-14, and 15-29 groups as the Late Group.)

A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was computed for age of onset and RT. The result indicated a very strong relationship between age of onset and RT (r = .71, p < .001). However, due to a strong negative correlation between age of onset and length of stay (r = -.88, p < .001) and also due to a strong correlation between length of stay and RT (r = -.68, p < .001), partial correlations were computed, controlling for age of onset at one time and length of stay at another. Partial correlations were also computed for the Early Group and for the Late Group separately (see Table 2).

Table 2. Partial Correlations of Age of Onset and Length of Stay with RT

	age of onset with length of stay removed	length of stay with age of onset removed
L2 Group (Early & Late)	.34 (p < .005)	-.15
Early Group	.35 (p < .05)	.22
Late Group	.22	-.29

From Table 2, it can be seen that significance was reached only for age of onset, not for length of stay, with respect to the L2 groups as a whole.[3] This means that age of onset can account for the explained variance of the RT, while length of stay cannot. This suggests that speed is more strongly related to age of onset than to length of stay. As for the correlation between age of onset and RT calculated for separate age groups, it was considerably weaker, with no significance being reached for the Late Group. It remained almost the same for the groups within the Early Group, however, and was significant.

Accuracy of Grammaticality Judgment in the RT Task

Error rates were also obtained for each group. Both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences were included in counting the number of errors (Figure 2 and Table 3).

Figure 2. Mean Error Rates in the RT Task

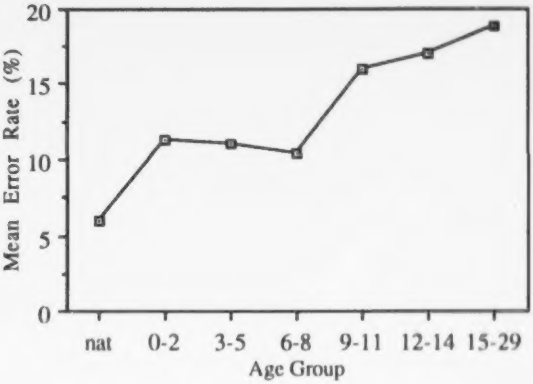

Table 3. Mean Error Rates in the RT Task

	Native	0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-29
% error	5.93	11.25	11.04	10.33	15.94	16.97	18.87
s.d.	2.73	2.68	3.34	5.32	5.89	6.33	4.72
range	2.08- 9.38	7.29- 15.63	7.29- 17.71	3.13- 18.75	7.29- 26.04	5.21- 25.00	11.46- 25.00

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference among the groups [F(6,63) = 9.42, p < .0001]. An LSD post-hoc test showed that even the earliest age-of-onset group (i.e., the 0-2 age group) made significantly more errors than the native group. The 3-5 and 6-8 age groups made approximately the same number of errors as did the 0-2 group.

When groups were divided into Early and Late, the Late Group (the 9-11, 12-14, and 15-29 groups) made significantly more errors than the Early Group (the 0-2, 3-5, and 6-8 groups). The three groups comprising the Late Group, however, were not significantly different from one other. Note that the slope of the plotted line in Figure 2 abruptly rises between the native group and the 0-2 group and also between the 6-8 and the 9-11 groups. As in the case of RT, standard deviations for the Late Group were, overall, larger than those for the Early Group.

The correlational analyses revealed a moderately strong relationship between age of onset and error rate (r = .45, p < .001) and between length of stay and error rate (r = -.49, p < .001). Due to a strong correlation between age of onset and length of stay, however, partial correlations were computed. Results appear in Table 4.

As can be seen in Table 4, length of stay, rather than age of onset, was significantly correlated with error rate. So it can be said that accuracy is more strongly associated with length of stay than with age of onset. With respect to the Early versus Late L2 groups, no significant correlations were observed in either group between age of onset and error rate but significance was observed in the Late Group between length of stay and error rate.

Table 4. Partial Correlations of Age of Onset and Length of Stay with Error Rate

	age of onset with length of stay removed	length of stay with age of onset removed
L2 Group (Early & Late)	.04	-.23 (p < .05)
Early Group	-.23	-.18
Late Group	-.21	-.35 (p < .05)

Accuracy of Grammaticality Judgment in the Non-Timed Test

As with the results in the timed test, the mean number of errors were computed for each subject group for both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences (see Figure 3 and Table 5). It is apparent that error rates were lower on this than on the timed test for all subject groups including the native group.

Figure 3. Mean Error Rates in the Non-Timed Test

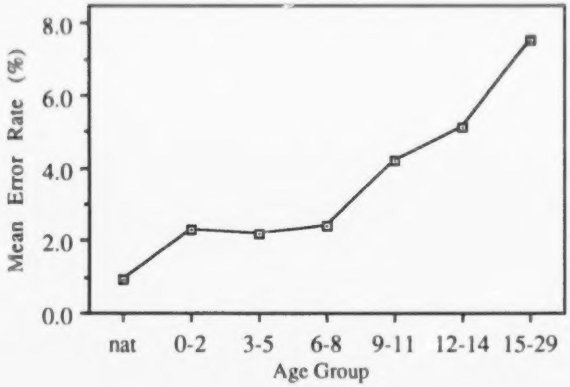

Table 5. Mean Error Rates in the Non-timed Test

	Native	0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-29
% error	0.92	2.29	2.18	2.40	4.18	5.10	7.50
s.d.	1.13	1.69	1.60	1.65	2.22	3.08	5.07
range	0.00-3.13	0.00-5.21	0.00-5.21	0.00-4.17	1.04-7.29	0.00-10.42	0.00-17.71

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant group difference [F(6,63) = 7.69, p < .0001]. An LSD post-hoc test revealed that the Early Group was not significantly different from the native group in the mean error rates. Such a difference first appeared in the 9-11 group as may be seen in the sudden increase in error rates between the 6-8 and the 9-11 group. However, the 9-11 group did not differ from the Early Group nor from the 12-14 group. The 15-29 group had the highest number of errors. Variability for the Late Group was greater than for the Early Group with standard deviations for the former group becoming increasingly larger as age of onset increased (as was true for RT and error rate in the timed task).

Correlation coefficients were significant for age of onset (r = .51, p < .0001) and also for length of stay (r = -.52, p < .0001). So partial correlations were also computed as Table 6 shows. No significant correlation was obtained for the independent variables for the whole L2 group. So, it is not apparent which variable was more strongly related to the error rates in the non-timed task.

Table 6. Partial Correlations of Age of Onset and Length of Stay with Error Rate in the Non-Timed Test

	age of onset with length of stay removed	length of stay with age of onset removed
L2 Group (Early & Late)	.13	-.18
Early Group	.35 (p < .05)	.38 (p < .05)
Late Group	-.07	-.36 (p < .05)

Although no significant correlations were observed for the L2 group as a whole, age effects appeared for the Early Group, and effects of length of stay were observed for the Late Group. Given no significant correlation (partial correlation) for the L2 subject groups as a whole, the result here is revealing. It can be recalled that age effects were almost nonexistent for error rates in the RT task. However, on the non-timed test, the effect of age manifested itself in the substantial correlation between age of onset and error rate for the Early Group. However, it is not readily apparent why the correlation was positive between length of stay and error rate for the Early Group.

DISCUSSION

Effects of Age of Onset and SLA

This study has provided some empirical support for the existence of the sensitive period in SLA, in terms of sentence-processing speed in particular and, to some extent, accuracy in grammaticality judgment.[4] An examination of group performance demonstrated that the performance of early learners of English (those subjects whose age of onset ranged from 0 to 8) consistently exceeded that of late English learners (those whose age of onset occurred after 9) in terms of all dependent variables (i.e., RT and error rate in the RT task and error rate in the non-timed test). Those who were first exposed to English before age nine exhibited native-like proficiency by responding to test sentences as rapidly as native speakers of English and, in a non-timed situation, by judging sentences as accurately as native English speakers. On the other hand, those L2 learners whose first exposure to English input occurred after age nine were neither as fast nor as accurate as native or early English learners.

The speed of L2 learners in processing L2 sentences is directly related to the notion of automaticity (e.g., Lambert, 1955). So how fast an L2 learner can process L2 sentences can be interpreted as how automatically he/she can retrieve the internalized L2 system in response to L2 input. Degree of automaticity in language processing directly reflects how firmly an internalized language system has been established. To the extent that the internalized language system is firmly established, language users retrieve the system quickly. On the other hand, accuracy in judging the grammaticality of L2 sentences is associated with how closely the internalized system of L2 learners approximates that of native speakers. So when speed and accuracy are both taken into account, it is possible to determine the level of overall English competence among early versus late L2 learners. It may be said that one is lacking in language competence if the internalized language (L2) system is not as stable as that of native speakers and if the established language system is not comparable to that of the native "norm" at the same time. Stated otherwise, in relation to the present study, lack of competence is associated with a concurrent manifestation of slower RTs and higher error rates. Thus, performance by the late L2 subjects manifested lack of English competence on their part. Based on these results, it can be claimed that there are some age-related limitations on the learning of an L2, which is the basic assumption of the SPH in SLA.

Ultimate L2 Proficiency

In terms of the ultimate proficiency of L2 learners whose length of stay is a minimum of five years and who thus are in rather late stages of SLA (as subjects of the present study were), SLA which started before age nine leads to native-like levels of automaticity and accuracy (or competence) with little or no individual differences. It might be noted, however, that, in a timed test, the early L2 subjects (even those who were exposed to English immediately after birth) were not as accurate as the native group. However, insistence by some of the early L2 subjects on their initially incorrect answers (on at least some test sentences) together with the much-decreased number of errors in the non-timed test leads us to conclude that the significantly poorer performance of the early L2 subjects in the timed test was due to their being bilingual, not due to their lack of L2 competence.

Detailed analysis of the errors revealed that the errors made by the early childhood L2 learners were restricted to a few particular sentences. Furthermore, it was found that errors made in these sentences could be the result of interference from the subjects' L1. For example, some L2 subjects in the Early Group did not identify the incorrect prepositions in sentences like *"Rosa got married with Martin in 1984," and *She has been living in L.A. from 1980." Both sentences are direct translations from Korean sentences in which "with" and "from" are correct prepositions. Also, in the category of tense and aspect, the sentence, *"I was an English teacher since 1972," was found to be particularly problematic. This can also be attributed to interference from Korean. In Korean, there are no specific structures corresponding to aspect in English. Instead, the simple past form is usually used where the "have + present perfect" would be used in English. Even on the non-timed test, most of the L2 subjects answered that the above sentences were grammatical. This perhaps indicates that their internalized system was restructured because of an L1 influence.

Thus, it is suggested that even early bilinguals might not be able to perform in exactly the same manner as native speakers, as was also found by Mack (1986).[5] This tells us that native-like proficiency in L2 cannot be an absolute criterion in differentiating within-sensitive period L2 learners from outside-sensitive period L2 learners, at least in a study which employs a fine-grained method like the RT study.

As far as the performance of late L2 learners is concerned, the present study showed that those whose age of onset ranges from 9 to 29 years (i.e., the Late Group) were never as proficient as native speakers, and they were also slower and less accurate than the Early Group. However, this is a group effect. Considerable variability was found among individuals, such that 4 subjects in the 9-11 group performed similarly to individuals in the Early and even in the native group. Examination of individual performance revealed that these 4 exceptional subjects all had something in common: over 10 years of length of stay in the U. S. and strong motivation to learn English, in particular. So it might be of interest to know in future studies whether these nonbiological factors have some role in promoting L2 competence. In any event, the observed pattern of performance by the late L2 learners in this study is similar to that found by Johnson & Newport (1989).

Age of First Decline and the Ending Point of the Sensitive Period

With regard to the ending point of the sensitive period, the sensitive period in SLA is somewhat earlier than the ending point of around puberty which has previously been assumed. (This assumption is generally associated with the implication made by Lenneberg [1967] that a decline in language performance should first appear at puberty.) The ending point of the sensitive period should be the point after which little relationship is observed between age of onset and ultimate L2 proficiency. As such, the ultimate proficiency of L2 learners should be determined by factors other than biological factors like age of onset. So, for the ending point of the sensitive period, we need to locate the point at which a correlation between age of onset and the performance of the subjects starts to decrease in strength.

In the present study, such a point was found to be age 9. With respect to both speed and accuracy in the non-timed situation, a significant correlation was observed between age of onset and speed and accuracy for the Early Group but no significant correlation was observed for the Late Group. (These results are understandable given the larger variances within the Late Group.) So age 9 is the critical point after which no systematic relationship holds between age of onset and the ultimate proficiency of L2 learners, thus marking the ending of the sensitive period. These results are partly in accord with the findings of Johnson and Newport (1989), in which age 8 was the age of first decline, although age 15 was found to be the starting point of no correlation and thus the ending point of the sensitive period.

The ending of the sensitive period happens in a gradual manner and not in any sudden manner as indicated (1) by correlations between age of onset and L2 performance (for the whole group with respect to speed and for the Early Group with respect to accuracy in the non-timed test); (2) by no actual difference in performance between the Early Group and the adjacent age group (the 9-11 group); and (3) by individual differences among L2 subjects that increase with the age of onset of the group.

In sum, the overall picture shows that age effects start to decline from infancy and continue to decline until around age 9 in an almost unnoticeable way. Eventually, however, SLA during this period of life leads to native-like L2 proficiency. From age 9 on, such decline maintains its gradual nature. Furthermore, in the end, SLA after this point results in nonnative-like L2 proficiency, with individual differences becoming increasingly greater as age of onset increases.

Age of Onset versus Length of Stay in SLA

The present study also demonstrates the danger of overemphasizing the factor of age in SLA. Based on the results, it would be fair to say that age has an important relationship with automaticity in L2 sentence processing. That is, a significant correlation between age of onset and speed was observed for the whole L2 subject group and for the Early Group, in particular, after the effects of length of stay were controlled for. However, the study also showed the effect of previous linguistic experience on accuracy. That is, accuracy was significantly correlated with length of stay after age effects were controlled for in the whole L2 group in the timed test, and in the Late Group in the non-timed test. This indicates that, as the amount of exposure to L2 increases, accuracy improves, but automaticity does not.

The finding that, independently of age effects, length of stay has some effect on L2 accuracy, even for L2 learners beyond the first years of L2 acquisition, seems to be valid, given the fact that proficiency in other components of language (e.g., phonetics) has been shown to improve as exposure to L2 input increases (e.g., Flege, 1986). Proficiency at the syntactic level should not be an exception.

CONCLUSION

The present study provides potentially important implications for future study of the SPH in SLA. First, findings revealed that both age of L2 onset and length of stay are factors in determining the ultimate level of accuracy of L2 learners. Thus, variables are interrelated in perhaps complex and subtle ways in SLA. Second, the study revealed that automaticity is an independent factor which must be taken into consideration in the examination of L2 performance. In turn, this indicates that there are many aspects of language use which should be examined separately in SLA study. As an example, a study which investigates such aspects of language use as fluency and pragmatic skills (i.e., skills involving illocutionary functions) might produce results different from those found here. It would be interesting to determine whether age effects are observed across all aspects of language use.

Third, the test materials used in this study dealt with English morphology and syntax. Given that language has many components (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics), we cannot rule out the possibility that a sensitive period for SLA would manifest itself in different ways depending on which aspect of language is under study. It is possible that "multiple sensitive periods" exist for language acquisition (e.g., Seliger, 1978). As an illustration, Werker and Tees (1984) found that 7-to-9-month-old infants exposed only to English from birth could discriminate Hindi and Thompson phonetic distinctions not phonemically distinguished in English, but infants aged 11-12 months exposed only to English could not. This suggests that infants are born with the ability to discriminate phonemic contrasts in a language to which they have not been exposed, but that such an ability declines within the first year of life. From this, it can be concluded that the end of the sensitive period for phonology may take place (at least in perception) earlier than for other language components. If this is the case, further studies which will examine various levels of language are needed. In addition, speakers of languages other than Korean must also be examined.

Finally, a rigorous formulation of the SPH for SLA requires evidence from physiological and/or anatomical data and from behavioral data. Insofar as the hypothesis bases its arguments on the biological phenomenon of brain maturation, behavioral evidence alone can never constitute sufficiently strong support for the SPH for SLA. Only when evidence gathered from psychology, psycholinguistics, neurobiology, and neurolinguistics accumulates and converges will the SPH for SLA be able to stand firm against criticism.

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NOTES

[1] Grouping subjects according to their age of onset makes it possible to compare L2 learners not only with one another but with native speakers as well. In studies on the SPH, subjects should be divided into at least two age groups: early and late groups. In this study, subjects were divided into groups of a much smaller age interval (2 years) than has been done in previous studies. This was to determine more precisely *the age of first decline* (i.e., the age at which L2 performance begins to deviate from native performance) and the endpoint of the sensitive period for SLA.

[2] Data were keyed into an IBM mainframe computer running VM/CMS. Analyses were performed using SPSS-X version 3.1. In RT tests, speed and accuracy are related to each other so that there is often a trade-off between the two. That is, high speed usually entails less accuracy, and vice versa. So, both variables need to be simultaneously taken into account to ensure correct interpretations of RT study results (Pachella, 1974). For this, the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. The MANOVA yielded a significant F-value [$F(12, 124) = 13.77$, $p < .001$]. This means that there were significant differences among the groups when the two variables of speed and error rate were included. The Roy Bargman stepdown test was done in the MANOVA to determine which of the two variables was most reponsible for the group differences. Both variables yielded significant stepdown Fs implying that each variable in its own right was a signficant indicator ($F(6, 64) = 16.55$ for RT and $F(6, 63) = 5.39$ for error rate).

[3] The partial correlation coefficient obtained between age of onset and RT here is rather low. This suggests that (probably many) other factors besides the age-of-onset factor influence ultimate L2 proficiency in terms of sentence-processing speed. In SLA studies, as with most behavioral studies, it is not unusual to observe that the influence of any one factor is not very large. It is common practice to use significance values for judging correlations in SLA (and SPH) literature.

[4] Such age-related limitations in SLA can be claimed more convincingly with respect to speed (automaticity) than with respect to accuracy. Speed was significantly correlated with age of onset even after the effects of length of stay and of each affective variable were removed. Also, a t-test conducted to compare two age groups whose length of stay was essentially the same (11 to 13 years) revealed a significant difference ($t = 6.46$, $p < .001$). (There were 7 of these subjects whose age of onset was before 8 and 8 of these subjects whose age of onset was after 8.) However, in the RT task, error rate was found to be more strongly correlated with length of stay than with age of onset. So care needs to be taken in discussing age effects in relation to accuracy based on the findings of the study.

[5] Mack (1986) looked at semantic and syntactic processing in fluent early French-English bilinguals, and she found significantly slower RTs in semantic processing and significantly more errors in syntactic processing among the early bilinguals than among native monolingual English speakers. She attributed the performance of the bilinguals in syntactic processing to instantaneous interference from their L1 or to a restructured L2 system. The same seems to be true of the early-learner L2 group in the present study.

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MULTILINGUALISM AND SOCIAL IDENTITY:

THE CASE OF SINGAPORE

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Within Acts of Identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), speech acts are seen as acts of projection: through language the speaker projects his identify, his inner universe, and shapes it according to the behavioral patterns of the groups with which he wishes to identify. Drawing on this framework, the author designed a questionnaire to determine how multilingual speakers in the Singapore context express their social identities through language; how they relate to their languages; and how they perceive the various English accents to which they are exposed. The results of this questionnaire show that speakers in the Singapore context express their social identities through a number of linguistic means, ranging from the Singapore English speech continuum (e.g. Acrolect, Mesolect, Basilect), through ethnic languages (e.g. Malay, Chinese, Tamil) to language contact phenomena such as codemixing and code-switching. It is also apparent that despite the high prestige associated with the British and American accents, multilingual Singaporeans relate more to the local Singapore accent than to the former accents, suggesting that the local accent projects their identity as Singaporeans. The implications of these findings for the codification of Singapore English are also discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of language and social identity or of the linguistic means that speakers use to express such identity has been a topic of interest to sociolinguists over the years (e.g. Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1968, 1971; Platt 1975, 1980; Gumperz & Gumperz 1982, Le Page 1986, Kachru 1986, Christie 1990, Bolton & Kwok 1990). The concept of 'social identity' is used here to 'simply mean a preoccupation with the question: "who am I" (Berstein 1986:495);' and with related questions such as how am I perceived by others in the community of which I am a member; and how would I actually want to be perceived. In this paper I shall be concerned with the following questions regarding language and social identity in the context of Singapore:

(1) how do multilingual speakers in a multilingual and multiracial society such as Singapore express their social identities through language;

(2) how do they relate to the various languages available in their linguistic repertoires;

(3) how do they relate to the various accents of English to which they are exposed in their everyday interaction; and, finally,

(4) what are the implications of their attitudes towards these accents for related issues such as the codification of Singapore English? For instance, which variety of Singapore English should be codified and why? Which model, endonormative or exonormative, should serve as a basis for such codification?

A language survey was purposely conducted in an attempt to address these issues. The results of the survey will be interpreted within the framework of Acts of Identity, which Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) proposed as an outcome of their investigation of the language situation in the Carribeans and the Francophone world, respectively. But before I describe this framework and the language and identity survey, let me first present the sociolinguistic profile of Singapore. This is intended to provide a background against which the issues raised here can be better understood.

THE LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF SITUATION

In order to better understand the issues addressed in this study one must first of all understand the complex linguistic situation within which the issues themselves arise in the context of this city-state, Singapore. Singapore is not only a multiracial and hence a multicultural society, but it is also a multilingual society as well. Its population, 2.6 million people, is characterized by a diversity of races, cultures and languages. Of this population, 77% is Chinese, 15% Malay, 6% Indians, and 2% others including Europeans, Arabs, and Eurasians.

According to Kuo (1980:40), linguistically Singapore society represents a protype of what Rustow (1968) describes as having a language pattern involving a variety of unrelated languages each with its own literary tradition, and what Fishman (1972) designates as one of the multimodal nations. In this nation there are four official languages, Chinese, Malay, Tamil and English. The first three of these languages represent the three main races that make up the population of Singapore: Chinese represents the Chinese group, Malay the Malay group, and Tamil the Indian group. These three languages each are used mainly for communication within their respective groups. English is perceived as a neutral language, with no ethno-cultural bond or affiliation with any of the three racial groups mentioned, the Chinese, the Malay, and the Indians. It now serves as the main language for interethnic/interracial communication, a function that was solely served by the Malay language until about two decades after Singapore's Independence in 1965.

Each of the four official languages has its own varieties. Within the Chinese language, for instance, one finds varieties such as Mandarin, Hokkien, Teochew, Hakka, Hainanese, Foochow and Cantonese, all of which are mutually unintelligible to their respective speakers. Similarly, Malay, Tamil and English each have their own varieties as well, with functionally defined domains in which they are used. English, for instance, is said to have a continuum ranging from formal to more informal variety (Platt 1979). The formal variety, known as the 'acrolect' or the Singapore Standard English, is used in areas such as the government and administration, education, trade and commerce, international communication and the media. The informal variety, known as the 'basilect' or the Singapore Colloquial English, is used in everyday interaction between acquaintances, friends, relatives in areas such as home, 'hawker centers', etc.

In addition to the four official languages, there is a mosaic of other unrelated languages that are spoken in Singapore. Within the Indian community, for instance, it is not the case that all the members of the community speak the representative language, Tamil. On the contrary, one finds that in this community there exist not only a multitude of races but also a multitude of languages as well. Some such languages include Malayalam, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, to list a few.

Given the language situation described here, it is no surprise that in Singapore everyone speaks at least two or three languages. For the younger generation of Singaporeans, such languages will include English with one or two other languages. As a matter of fact, as Bloom (1986) observes, to be culturally Singaporean is to be multilingual and anglophone, that is, to be fluent in English with at least one other language. This situation has contributed to the emergence of a language contact phenomenon commonly known as 'language mixing', whereby depending on the context of situation multilingual speakers use two or more languages or varieties of language within the same speech situation (e.g. Kachru 1982a). The language situation presented here points to the fact that in Singapore, as in any linguistically mixed society, people have multiple identities and that the linguistic means they use to express a given identity will be dependent not only on the context of situation but also on the cline of multilingualism of each individual speaker (e.g. Foley 1988).

Against the backdrop of the linguistic scene described above I shall attempt to address the issue of multilingualism and social identities and the linguistic means that the speakers use to express these identities. Also, an attempt will be made to determine how these identities reflect upon the speakers' attitudes towards, say, the various accents of English to which they are exposed in the city-state.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As observed earlier, this study draws on the framework of Le Page et al. in Acts of Identity (1985). The main hypothesis of this framework is that 'people create their linguistic systems so as to resemble those of the groups with which from time to time they wish to identify' (e.g. Le Page 1986:23). According to Le Page et al. (1985:181), individuals perform speech acts to identify with some perceived group. In so doing, they expect from the group feedback which may serve either to reinforce or modify their perception of the group. If the feedback individuals receive from the target group is positive, then their behavior in that particular context becomes more regular, more 'focussed', that is, more like that of the group. If the feedback is negative, the individuals' linguistic behavior will become more 'diffused', that is, more different from that of the group. Along these lines, it is noted that awareness of such aggregates as 'languages' and 'groups' or 'communities' emerges as the individuals' behavior becomes more alike (Le Page et al. 1985:9-13). In the view of Le Page and his followers, speech acts, then are acts of projection: through language individuals project their identity, their inner universe and shape it according to the behavioral patterns of the groups with which they wish to identify.

Similar ideas are expressed in Gumperz & Gumperz (1982). The authors maintain (239) that language use creates a social identity for the user. Language as speaking practice creates and identifies social group membership. Through shared communicative conventions, individuals treat each other as part of their social group. It is this that enables them to acquire knowledge and experience which reinforce the social group and sharedness.

In this paper I shall attempt to apply the above ideas of Le Page et al. (1985) and others in the context of Singapore, with a focus on the concepts of 'focussing', 'diffusion', and 'projection'. I shall discuss these ideas and concepts against the background of the language survey that I conducted for the purpose of this paper. The description of the language survey follows.

THE LANGUAGE SURVEY

Participants

The subjects who participated in this study include 88 undergraduate university students at the National University of Singapore. The age range of the subjects varies between 18 and 25.[1] Of these 88 subjects, 74 are females, and 14 are males. The numerical disproportion between the female and the male subjects is probably due to the fact that in Singapore, before they enter the University all able male high school graduates must do two years' compulsory military service. High school female graduates are exempt from this requirement. As a result, it is logical that the percentage of girls enrolling at the National University would be higher than that of boys, as reflected in our sample.

In terms of ethnic origin, 62 (70%) of our subjects are Chinese, 5 (17%) are Indian, 6 (7%) are Malay; and 5 (6%) are Eurasians (people whose one parent is Asian, and the other European). The higher percentage of Chinese in our sample reflects the fact that the Chinese constitute the majority ethnic group (about 77% of the population) in Singapore. The ethnic make-up of our subjects is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: **ETHNIC MAKE-UP OF THE SUBJECTS**

Race	Chinese	Indian	Malay	Eurasian
Subjects	62	15	6	5
%	70	17	7	6

The languages in which our subjects claimed competence are given in Table 2. These languages include English (100% for both speaking and writing skills), Chinese (62/62), Malay (19/23), Tamil (7/8), Japanese (6/6), French (5/5), Punjabi (0/2), Telugu (1/1), German (1/1), Arabic (0/1), Malayalam (0/1), Hindi (1/0).

Table 2: **LINGUISTIC MAKE-UP OF THE SUBJECTS**

Languages	Spoken	Written
English	88	88
Chinese	62	62
Malay	19	23
Tamil	7	8
Japanese	6	6
French	5	5
Punjabi	0	2
Telugu	1	1
German	1	1
Arabic	1	1
Malayalam	1	0
Hindi	0	1

Materials

The survey consisted of two main sections. Section 1 was on language and identity. It was intended to determine how the subjects identify with or relate to the languages available in their linguistic repertoires. In order to achieve this objective, I asked the subjects

(1) to list all the languages they speak and/or write;

(2) to say which one of those languages they are very attached to, that is, have strong feelings for; and

(3) to explain why they feel they have strong feelings for the language they chose in (2).

Section 2 was concerned with the accents of English and identity. It was intended to determine the subjects' attitudes towards the various accents of English to which they are exposed in everyday encounters. In an attempt to achieve this objective I asked the following questions of the subjects:

(4) Which one of the following accents of English would you relate more to or identify yourself with and why: Australian Accent, Singapore Accent, British Accent, Canadian Accent, American Accent?

(5) Would you prefer to speak with an accent of English other than the one you identified yourself with in (4)? Please explain.

(6) Which one of the English accents listed above do you feel should be used in areas such as the media, education, commerce and business in Singapore?

Procedure

The survey was distributed to the students who were in my tutorial groups. The students were told that the goal of the survey was to determine how they relate to their languages; and how they relate to the various English accents to which they are exposed both within and outside the university quarters. The students were also told that the survey had to be completed in class only. This was intended to ensure that their answers to the survey were not discussed with or influenced by other people, such as friends, parents, relatives. The students' answers to the survey, then, are genuine and represent what the students truly feel about the issues involved in the survey.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As pointed out previously, the results of these questions will be interpreted within the framework of Acts of Identity (Le Page et al. 1985), where speech acts are seen as acts of projection: through language the speaker projects his identity, his inner universe and shapes it according to the behavioral patterns of the groups with which he wishes to identify.

In Singapore, speech acts or acts of projection are carried out through a variety of linguistic means, including local languages (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) and English. And, within English itself one notes that there is a range of accents or, in the sense of Platt (1985), a continuum ranging from formal to more informal variety through which the acts of identity/speech acts are performed as well. It is to this range of accents that I shall most devote my attention in this paper. But first, let me discuss briefly how a multilingual Singaporean relates to the many languages that are available in his/her linguistic repertoire.

Language and Identity

This section reports on the three questions asked of the subjects with respect to how they relate to the languages they know. First, as Table 2 shows, the subjects claim competence in a variety of languages. Here I shall focus on the four official languages, Chinese, Malay, Tamil and English.

The survey indicates that in Singapore the four official languages each are associated with different types of identities: The ethnic languages, that is, Chinese, Malay and Tamil each project the ethnic identity or what may be called the Chineseness, the Malayness and the Indianness of the speaker, respectively. English projects the educatedness of the speaker.

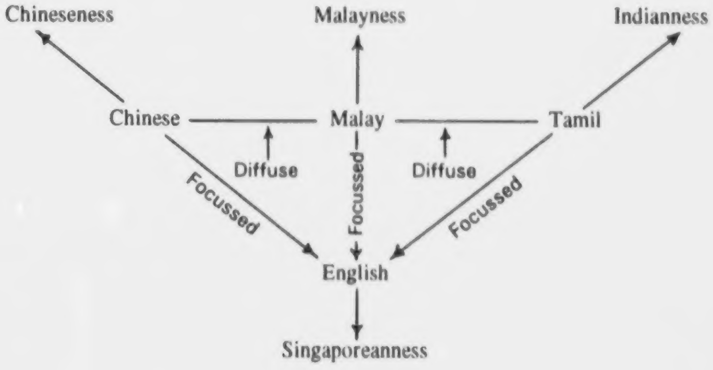
For instance, of the 62 Chinese participants in the survey, 61 (almost 100%) claimed that Chinese is their mother tongue, though only 24 (38%) said that they have strong feelings for the language. The choice of Chinese as the mother tongue is to be seen as an expression of the loyalty the subjects have towards their ethnic group, and not in terms of their competence in the Chinese language. The same conclusion can be drawn regarding the Indian grouup. Of the 15 Indians who participated in the survey, though 8 said they could speak and write in Tamil, only 2 expressed any attachment to or strong feelings for Tamil. Similarly, only 2 of the 6 Malay subjects said they have strong feelings for Malay.[2] In contrast, while only few of the subjects claimed English as their mother tongue, the survey shows that many have strong feelings for English, and that they identify more positively with this language than they do with their respective ethnic languages. It appears that English, and in particular Singapore English, is not regarded any longer as foreign as it used to be in the early days of Singapore's Independence.

In a sense, then, what we are witnessing here is a shift of loyality from the vernacular to the English language. It seems that for the younger generation of Singaporeans, of which our subjects are a sample, there is no one to one correspondence between ethnicity and linguistic affinity. The results of this survey bear out what Chiew (1980:237) predicted a little over a decade ago, that 'in the near future English will be the lingua franca of both adults and school children in Singapore; that is, the correspondence between ethnicity and linguistic affinity will disappear'.

In terms of the Acts of Identity framework, linguistically the relationship between the speakers of the different ethnic languages can be described as one of 'diffusion', whereby speakers cluster based on the language they consider as their own language, a language that projects their own ethnic identity as, say, Chinese, Malay, or Indians. Again, the clusters that the speakers form have to be seen in terms of ethnic loyality, and not in terms of language competence. Along these lines, it is interesting to note that some younger Chinese, for instance, have Singapore English as their mother tongue (in the sense of language first learned/acquired). However, when asked which language they would consider as their mother tongue, most would pick their ethnic mother tongue, Chinese, even if they do not speak the language.

Compared to English, the relationship between the speakers of the different ethnic languages can be described as one of 'focussing', since it is through English that those speakers identify themselves as Singaporeans. The diagram that follows is intended to capture the above two facets of this situation.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY



The Accents of English and Identity

In this section I shall report on how Singaporeans in general, and our subjects in particular, relate to or identify with the many English accents to which they are exposed. Though the subjects were presented with five accents to choose from, they did not identify with two of those accents: the Australian English Accent and the Canadian English Accent. It seems that the accents to which the subjects are often exposed include the Singapore English accent, the British English Accent, and the American English Accent.

The Singapore English accent, hereafter the Singapore Accent (SA), appears to be used mostly in informal speech situations such as the home, the playground, and every day activities. The British English accent, henceforth the British Accent (BA), is often identified with formal speech situations, such as lecture theatres, tutorial rooms, newsbroadcasts, upper courtrooms, etc. The American English accent, hereafter the American Accent (AA), is mostly associated with the many TV programs, such as movies, cartoons and shows, most of which are made in the United States. The discussion that follows will focus on these three accents.

The Singapore Accent (SA). By SA I simply mean the way Singaporeans speak English. By the same token, I shall use the terms British Accent (BA) and American Accent (AA) to refer to the way the British and the Americans speak, respectively.

SA differs from the British and the American accents mainly in terms of rhythm, intonation and stress patterns. For instance, it is observed that in its RP (received pronunciation) English has a 'stress-timed' rhythm, that is, stressed syllables recur at equal intervals, but unstressed syllables are equally spaced in time (Abercrombie 1967:97, quoted in Tay 1982:60). However, in its Singaporean pronunciation (even in the acrolectal variety), English has a 'syllable-timed' rhythm, that is, all syllables recur at equal intervals of time, stressed or unstressed (Tay 1982:60). Further, Tay observes (p. 58) that most Singaporeans recognize the fact that they speak differently from native speakers of English. They accept these differences but are quite content to speak English their 'own' way as long as they can be understood by fellow Singaporeans and foreigners.[3] But what are Singaporeans' attitudes towards SA (i.e. their 'own' way of speaking) compared to the other accents, the British and the American accents. Which one of these accents best projects their inner universe?

The survey indicates that though they are exposed to native accents either through the media or other channels, Singaporeans relate more to SA than they do native accents, as can be concluded from Table 3.

Table 3: **ACCENTS AND IDENTITY**

	AustrE	AmE	BrE	CanE	SingE	Yes	No
Identifcation with an accent	0	2	6	0	80	-	-
Preferrred accent other than one's own	0	7	12	0	69	19	69
Preferred accent for business	0	4	24	0	60	-	-
Preferred accent for education	0	8	34	0	46	-	-
Preferred accent for newscasts	0	6	32	0	50	-	-

This table shows that regardless of the areas listed, e.g. newsbroadcast, education, etc. the majority of our subjects chose SA over the other accents for the purpose of asserting their social identification: identification with self, identification with the community of which they are members, and identification with the Singapore nation as a whole.

In their opinions, the subjects feel strongly that SA is part of their own culture and tradition, and that it is through this accent that they can assert and express their own identity as Singaporeans. The following statements, which are drawn from the survey, best express the subjects' feelings towards SA:

> -it's just part of my heritage and my tradition;
> -it gives me a sense of belonging in the peer group;
> -it is intricately bound with my culture;
> -it gives me a sense of pride and makes me feel at home and natural; I do not feel 'false' or 'contrived'; and I don't want to give the impression that I'm putting on airs or that I was stuck;
> -I am Singaporean and would like to identify myself as one. It is also a trait that distinguishes me from others.
> -it is uniquely 'us'.

Along these lines, 70 of the subjects (about 80%) also maintain that they would not want to speak with an accent other than SA. As above, they explain that speaking with SA gives them a sense of identity, and that speaking with any other accent would not only 'project the impression that one is one class above the rest, but also it would be falsifying this sense of identity'.

That the subjects relate more to SA for the purpose of preserving their social identity is summed up as follows by one of the subjects:

> though I would like to identify myself with and relate to the British accent, the thought of losing my identity, my Singaporean identity via the language, is inconceivable.

Similar comments are made regarding the use of SA in the media, in business and education. The subjects feel that SA should be used in each of these areas. Regarding the area of education, for instance, some of the subjects comment that if they were parents they would prefer their child to have a teacher who speaks with SA. They explain that this is because

> -this accent would make it easier for the child to interact with his peers;
> -I would like my child to identify with the accent that he could claim belongs to his culture;
> -I don't want my child to grow up with a fake accent that doesn't go in line with his heritage; to learn an accent which is not compatible with the society in which he/she lives; to grow up with the belief that Western accent is more superior; to be an outcast in Singaporean society because of his accent; [and, above all,] I wouldn't want to be corrected by my own child or to see him go around sounding American, British, etc.

A point to note about these comments is that they all boil down to the question of identity, that the child should be able to identify with his own culture, to speak like the members of his own speech community, and be able to relate with one who speaks like the mother/parents. Speaking otherwise would entail a sense of alienation from the group. In the sense of Le Page (1985), then, speakers in the Singapore context model their speech forms not on native accents but rather on the local norms, whereby SA serves as a channel through which they project their identity as Singaporeans.

As a conclusion to this section on SA, it is obvious that the subjects have a penchant for this accent compared to the British or the American accent. This conclusion contrasts sharply with that of Goh Yee (1981:12), who found that the majority of his subjects overwhelmingly chose British English as the educated and standard English variety they would like to hear spoken in Singapore. In spite of this contrast, it appears that though the present study shows that the subjects have a penchant for SA, however, it also shows that the subjects also hold positive attitudes towards the British and American accents as well, as we will see below.

The British and the American Accents. The survey results regarding these two accents are presented in Table 3, above. The table indicates that 6 of our subjects identified with the British Accent (BA); 12 would prefer to speak with this accent; 24 find it suitable for business; while 34 and 32 believe that it should be used in the areas of education and the media, respectively. Similar figures obtain for the American Accent (AA), as can be noted from the table.

It should be pointed out here that compared to SA the choice of the British and the American accents over SA is meant to convey a totally different type of social identity, the eliteness or educatedness of the speaker, along with the prestige status that is associated with this identity. As a matter of fact, the subjects who identified with BA explain that they did so because of the perceived prestige status and other 'characteristics' associated with this accent, such as 'professionalism', 'correctness', 'educatedness', 'image', 'seriousness', 'properness', 'solemness', to list a few. These characteristics are spelled out in the following comments about the use of BA in the media:

- BA gives the news a professional 'flavour';
- it indicates an educated background;
- it is considered to be 'correct' way of speaking and writing, too;
- it's more refined and sophisticated;
- it enhances the image;
- somebody in the public eye should speak with BA rather than SA;
- BA gives a touch of seriousness;
- it commands respect;
- it projects a better image;
- it carries with it a degree of properness, solemness;
- it is more formal, professional and appropriate;
- it is clearer and more intelligible than SA;
- it has international prestige and, after all, it is our official language.

Some of the subjects note that to them, BA is a model they strive to achieve, and that 'it makes one enjoy the feeling of linguistic competence.' Others point out that the BA is the accent they are most familiar with; and that they were brought up to accept it as the right, if not standard, way of speaking.

The above comments need to be understood from the perspective of the polyglossic situation within which English functions in the Singapore context, whereby more than two varieties of English coexist side by side throughout the city-state, each serving different functions. For instance, as pointed out previously, in Singapore the H(igh) (i.e. Acrolect) is used in the media, administration, education, etc; whereas the L(ow) (i.e. Singapore Colloquial English) is restricted to areas such as home, everyday activities, friendship. According to Ferguson (1959), in a situation such as this, where two (or more varieties) of a language coexist side by side, the speaker tends to regard H as superior to L in a number of respects. Even where the feelings of reality and superiority of H is not so strong, there is usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts and the like and this belief is also held by speakers whose command of H is quite limited (e.g. Platt 1980:74).

The subjects' comments that the British and American accents be used in areas such as education, media, and others attest to Ferguson's theory. The comments point to the fact that the subjects prefer the British and American accents to SA because they perceive these accents as both more prestigious and beautiful sounding to their ears, and not because these accents project their social identity as Singaporeans. Further comments are in order from the survey with respect to the subjects' preference for the British or American accent in the areas of business and education. First, regarding the area of business, it is pointed out that

- business world must be one which is serious and looked upon with respect;
- these accents (i.e. BA and AA) give a kind of officiality to the business;
- they are prestigious accents, clearer and more presentable;
- most expatriots and Singaporeans look up to these accents;
- these accents project more sophisticated image and professionalism;
- they are more authoritative;
- they spell professionalism and command more respect than the local accent;
- they sound more intellectual and more prestigious than the local accent.

And, regarding the area of education, it is noted that

- acquiring either of these accents would help upgrade my child;
- it would seem more prestigious to speak with AA; it is proper, or good English;
- AA is more sophisticated, amusing, interesting and lively;
- some aspects of the other accent, viz. SA, are not desirable.

In summary, what we have witnessed here is an ambivalent attitude on the part of our subjects towards the accents under consideration. On the one hand, the survey shows that the majority of the subjects would prefer for SA to be used in all areas of social life, including the media, education, administration, to list some. The choice of SA is to be understood in terms of identity, the Singaporean identity, that this accent gives to its users. On the other hand, the survey also indicates that though for the sake of their identity the subjects chose SA over the British and the American accents they, nonetheless, also identified with the latter accents as well. However, they did so for totally different reasons, e.g. the prestige status associated with these native accents.

Similar conclusions are reached in Bolton and Kwok's (1990) study of English in the Hong Kong context. The authors also observe that many Hong Kong speakers model their speech forms not on native speakers stereotypes in North America or Britain but on the speech of educated bilinguals in Hong Kong, most of whom use localized features of pronunciation for their identification in social and linguistic space. Now, what are the implications of these findings for issues such as the codification of Singapore English?

ACCENTS AND CODIFICATION

As observed earlier, the issue currently being debated in studies of Singapore English is which variety of Singapore English should be codified and why? Codification entails standardization of a given variety of language for use in education, media, administration, and in all sectors of social life. The issue has been an object of investigation in a number of studies of Singapore English, e.g. Platt 1975, Tongue 1979, Tay and Gupta 1983, and more recently in Bloom 1986, Gupta 1986, 1989 and others. Two schools of thought seem to have emerged from the debate on this issue, including what may be called the 'endonormative school' on the one hand, and the 'exonormative school' on the other.

The endonormative school maintains that the codification of Singapore English should be based on a variety that is commonly heard or used by the majority of speakers, a variety that we have been referring to throughout this paper as the Singapore Accent. The exonormative school argues that the codification of Singapore English should be based on a native model, in particular, on the British Accent.

Based on the results of this study, it appears that the endonormative model would be more suitable to most of our subjects, since they would perceive such a model as a vehicle for expressing their 'Singaporeanness'. The danger of adopting this model, however, is that the model may not be intelligible enough for use in international communication. On the other hand, adopting an exclusively exonormative model would be alienating. It would deprive the speakers of the sense of identity they so proudly achieve from the opposite model, the endonormative model. Such a model would be perceived as foreign and may be hard to implement or may not be accepted by the population at large.

In order to cater both to the issue of social indentity and at the same time keep a model of English which would not be exclusively Singaporean so as to be unintelligible to the international community, it seems that the best solution would be to blend the two models, the endonormative and the exonormative models. This will provide what may be termed a 'hybrid model', one that suits the needs of the speakers and at the same time does not interfere with the issue of intelligibility of the achieved model to speakers of English in other contexts. The results achieved in this paper appear to support these conclusions, as can be seen from the ambivalent attitudes of our subjects towards both the Singapore Accent and the British and the American accents.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has been concerned with two basic issues, the issue of language and social identity on the one hand, and the issue of the accents of English and identity on the other. Regarding language and identity, I have argued that as in any multilingual society, multilingual speakers in Singapore have a repertoire of social identities, and that depending on the context of situation they use a number of linguistic means for expressing these identities. Some such linguistic means include the ethnic language of the speaker, the English language and language contact phenomena such as code-mixing/code-switching, the latter of which I simply glossed over in this paper. The ethnic language expresses the ethnic identity of the speaker; the English language expresses the educatedness/modernness of the speaker; code-mixing/code-switching expresses the bilingualness of the speaker.

As to the issue of accents of English and social identity, I have shown that the majority of the subjects surveyed hold strong positive attitudes towards SA compared to, say, BA or AA. The concepts of 'focussing' and 'diffusion', as proposed by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), may prove useful to account for the subjects' attitudes towards the accents of English just listed. The results of the survey suggest that the subject have positive attitudes towards SA because, to them, this accent 'projects' their social and national identity as Singaporean. In a sense, then, the subjects 'cluster' around or model their speech in terms of that accent with which from time to time they wish to identify, in this case, SA. However, it was also pointed out that despite their identifying with SA, the subjects also show positive attitudes towards native accents as well, namely the British and the American accents. These accents are perceived as socially more prestigious than the local accent, as the accents that open the window of job opportunities, as the accents that project a better or more sophisticated image of the speaker. In a sense, then, it appears that regardless of the areas of language use involved, whether the media, education, or business, our subjects have ambivalent attitudes towards the accents of English heard in Singapore. Relating these conclusions to the issue of codification of Singapore English, I have concluded that given the ambivalent attitudes of our subjects towards the accents surveyed here, the codification of Singapore English need to draw on both the endonormative and the exonormative models so as to meet the identification and communicative needs of the speakers.

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NOTES

[1] Of the 88 subjects who participated in this study, 40 are third year students who have had a fair amount of exposure to courses in linguistics and sociolinguistics. The remaining 48 subjects include 23 first-year students and 25 second-year students. Unlike third-year students, the first and second-year students do not get any exposure to courses in sociolinguistics until after completion of first and second year courses, including grammar, stylistics, phonetics, and others. Compared to third year students, the fact that first and second year students have not had exposure to courses in linguistics or sociolinguistics proved to have no bearing whatsoever on their attitudes towards the accents of English heard in Singapore.

[2] It is surprising that only 2 out of the 6 Malay subjects involved in this study expressed strong feelings for the Malay language. In Singapore, compared to the other racial groups (e.g. the Chinese and the Indians), the Malay are generally believed to be strongly attached to their language and culture.

[3] That Singaporeans have a distinct way of speaking English can be seen in the following statement by Professor Tommy Koh, the former Ambassador of Singapore to the United Nations, who said:

> when one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane, and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognizing that I am a Singaporean (e.g. Tongue 1979:17).

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IDEAL 6, 1993

SENSITIVE PERIODS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A REACTION-TIME STUDY OF KOREAN-ENGLISH BILINGUALS

Rosa Jinyoung Shim

The primary goal of this research project was to find out how the ultimate proficiency in a second language is affected by the age at which learners begin learning the target language. The questions considered in this paper are: 1) How is age related to second language acquisition and ultimate competence in a second language? 2) Can early learners become as competent as native speakers? Answers to these research questions were attained by a reaction time study that was modeled after Johnson and Newport's study (1989).

The results showed a striking difference in mean reaction time for native versus non-native groups, even for early (childhood) bilinguals. In fact, there was a greater difference between the native speakers and early bilinguals than between any two of the non-native groups. Thus a hypothesis was proposed that there is a sensitive period for attaining native-like speed in language processing which ends before the age of three. Evidence was also found for the maturational effect that resulted in a decrease of language processing speed as the age of onset for the L2 was increased. Similar results were found for error rate. The most significant difference was found between the early childhood group and the late adolescent group leading to the formulation of the hypothesis that the sensitive period for the acquisition of accuracy in syntactic judgment ended in early childhood.

INTRODUCTION

Is there a critical period for learning a language? This question has been one of the most often-asked questions posed about language acquisition ever since Lenneberg (1967) proposed his critical period hypothesis. When Lenneberg put forth his proposal, his claim was that language acquisition must occur during a critical period if one is to attain full linguistic competence. He then claimed that the critical period extended from early infancy until the onset of puberty. Early infancy was defined to be around the age of two, and the onset of puberty meant around 14 years of age. A strong interpretation of this proposal is captured in the Critical Period Hypothesis (hereafter referred to as the CPH) which proposes that language cannot be acquired after a critical period.

What does the CPH claim about second language acquisition? Is there a critical period for second language (L2) acquisition? Johnson and Newport (1989) suggest two different ways of interpreting the CPH for L2 acquisition. First is "The Exercise Hypothesis." This proposes that, once the L1 has been acquired successfully, the capacity to learn any second language remains intact. Second is "The Maturational State Hypothesis" which proposes that the capacity to learn languages disappears or declines with age regardless of whether L1 acquisition has been successful or not. As it was with L1 acquisition, the issue here is the ultimately attainable linguistic competence of the non-native speakers in their L2, not in the early stages of language learning.

It has been noted in the past (Asher and Price, 1967; Krashen, Long, and Scarcella, 1979; Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1978) that late learners have an advantage over early learners in terms of rate of acquisition in the early stages of learning. This is not surprising in view of the fact that late learners start out with an enormous cognitive and experiential advantage over early learners.

Unfortunately, some of these findings have been cited as evidence against the CPH for second language acquisition (Flege, 1987; Snow, 1987). Although these results tell us that late learners proceed at a faster rate in the early stages of language learning, they tell us nothing about how long this trend continues or what the final outcome is. The rate of acquisition is an issue separate from either the route of acquisition or the ultimate success of acquisition. The early stages of learning should be dealt with separately from the final outcome of language learning.

When the question asked specifically deals with the ultimately attainable linguistic competence, the results strongly support Johnson and Newport's maturational version of the CPH. Several researchers (Asher and García, 1969; Johnson and Newport, 1989; Krashen, Long, and Scarcella, 1979; Oyama, 1976; Patkowski, 1980) have also found that, although the late learners were capable of learning their L2, they manifested varying degrees of success. Moreover, the early learners ultimately had an advantage over the late learners.

The controversy that might arise from Johnson and Newport's Maturational State Hypothesis, or any other hypothesis of the CPH extended to second language acquisition, is that it does include the possibility of the sudden inability to learn languages. In order to clear up the misconceptions that might be formed by the term "Critical Period," I will use the term "Sensitive Period". Presently, there is no evidence in support of the assumption that there are different sensitive periods for the first language and the second language(s). Thus the Sensitive Period Hypothesis (SPH) proposes that the innate ability to learn languages reaches its peak during the sensitive period—a period which is undetermined at this point—and slowly declines with age thereafter.

Since it is very difficult to investigate the sensitive period for first language acquisition in normally developing children, attention is turned to second language acquisition. However, there have only been a very limited number of empirical studies that specifically address the notion of the sensitive period in second language acquisition. Among the few, Johnson and Newport's (1989) study is the most recent, and it is also the most significant in that it provides several valuable insights regarding the question of the sensitive period for language acquisition.

The most important result of Johnson and Newport's (1989) study can be found in terms of evidence for the maturational effect after the sensitive period. Another interesting finding of the Johnson and Newport study was that the early arrival group (the group whose exposure to English began between the ages of three and seven) performed at the native group level. This led to the suggestion that "if one is immersed in a second language before the age of seven, one is able to achieve native fluency in the language" (p. 26). However, the authors were clearly reluctant to claim that this was the general case. Instead they suggested the possibility that "the equivalence in performance between natives and the three to seven age group was due to a ceiling effect on [their] test" (p. 47) thereby implying the possibility of an earlier sensitive period and the beginning of the maturational effect.

Thus the present study was designed to obtain a clearer picture of the age boundaries that include the sensitive period for second language acquisition. It was believed that a possible ceiling effect would be avoided if a time constraint were imposed and consequently a reaction time measurement was used.

There are two assumptions underlying the use of RT measurements in this study: One is that, unlike first language learners' accuracy in syntactic judgment, second language learners' native-like accuracy may only be attained through the conscious application of grammatical rules. The second assumption is that this conscious application of rules may result in a longer processing time than the automatized reaction of the native speakers. Besides these reasons was the fact that speed of language processing was found to be a significant variable in subjects' performance in Mack's study (1986) of bilinguals with near native fluency in the language tested.

Another advantage in this method of measurement is that it makes it possible to address different aspects of language processing. The difference in the accuracy of a second language learner's response may be unrelated to the difference in processing speed. It is possible that the ability to respond quickly may be related to fluency. Brumfit (1984, p. 53) notes that in order for fluency to develop, self-monitoring "must be unconscious or automatic." Thus, with the design adopted for this experiment, it is possible to discuss the relationship between accuracy and fluency in second language acquisition. There may even be different sensitive periods for accuracy and for fluency.

EXPERIMENT

Subjects

The subjects were thirty adult Korean-English bilinguals and ten adult native speakers of English. Subjects comprised four groups of ten each. In view of the possible effect of handedness on RT (Genesee et al., 1978; Rastatter and Lawson-Brill, 1987), only right handers were chosen as subjects. Also, the subjects in all four groups were balanced for sex (five female and five male) to eliminate possible effects of sex differences in the results, although the distinction was not made in the analyses of results. At the time of testing, all subjects were either undergraduate or graduate students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The testing was conducted during the summer and fall of 1989.

The Korean subjects differed in their age of arrival in the United States, which was the primary criterion for selecting the subjects. Some other criteria for subject selection were the number of years the subjects had stayed in the United States prior to the experiment, and their present age. The present age variable was considered in light of possible reaction time differences in subjects of markedly different ages. Thus, there were no subjects younger than eighteen or older than thirty-six. All had been in the United States at least three years. The non-native subjects were divided into three groups of 10 subjects each (Early, Adolescent, and Late), according to their age at the onset of English acquisition. Since all the subjects in the three groups were students, their daily activities centered around school work which provided them with relatively similar amounts of exposure to natural English.

Early Arrivals were those who had arrived in the United States before puberty (ages three to eight). All but one of these subjects had been born in Korea and had become U.S. citizens upon their parents' immigration to the United

States. Although there was one subject who was born in the United States, her age of onset was considered to be three since that was the first time she came into contact with native speakers of English (when she began going to nursery school). All the subjects in this group grew up and went to school in the suburban Chicago area. Nine of them rated themselves as dominant in English and indicated that they preferred to speak English with friends and family members. Their age at the time of testing ranged from eighteen to twenty-one and the mean age of onset was 5.4.

Adolescent Arrivals were those who arrived in the United States around and after puberty (ages nine to seventeen). They were all immersed in mainstream American education upon their arrival to the United States and had received ESL instruction in addition to their normal school activities. Five of them rated themselves as dominant in English and said they preferred using English over Korean. Four subjects rated themselves as dominant in Korean and preferred to use Korean over English. One subject did not have any preference. Their age range was nineteen to twenty-two and the mean age of onset was 11.8.

Late Arrivals were those who arrived in the United States well after puberty (ages twenty to thirty). Every subject in this group had had at least 10 years of mandatory formal English instruction prior to arrival in the United States. All of the subjects in this group rated themselves as dominant in Korean and preferred to use Korean over English. Their age range was twenty-four to thirty-five and the mean age of onset was 25.3.

Baseline performance on a test of various English structures was obtained from a reference group of English native speakers who were graduate students in the Division of English as an International Language at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. For this native speaker group, bilingual subjects were selected rather than monolingual subjects due to the possibility of obtaining results that showed monolingual versus bilingual effects. That is, if the reference native speaker group had been monolingual, possible differences between the native and non-native groups could have been due largely to the difference in the number of languages spoken by the native and non-native groups. Since the focus of this study was to assess possible age effects on second language acquisition, first and second language differences had to be allowed, but a difference in the number of languages spoken by the native-speaker group and the non-native-speaker groups was avoided. This point is very well articulated in Grosjean's (1989) concern that testing bilinguals against monolinguals creates several biases against the bilinguals, and this issue of testing bilinguals' competence against that of monolinguals is especially important in an experiment such as this [1].

Materials

The sentences that were used in the test consisted of ninety-eight sentences in thirteen grammatical categories. Twelve of the categories were the same as those used by Johnson and Newport[2] and one other category (prepositions) was added. The sentences were similar to those of Johnson and Newport but most were not identical. This difference was inevitable since Johnson and Newport did not provide a complete list of sentences used. Nevertheless, the construction of the sentences was based on rule violations that were almost identical to those reported in Johnson and Newport's study. Sentences were constructed so that there was minimal difference in their length, and lexical items were carefully selected to ensure easy comprehension.

Procedure

The experiment was a test of English syntax and morphology. The subjects were asked to judge the grammaticality of English sentences of various grammatical categories. The sentences were typed on an IBM PC into a program designed to measure subjects' RT and response accuracy. RT was recorded within a computer accuracy of .01 sec.

Subjects were tested individually in the Language Learning Laboratory of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Upon subjects' arrival at the testing site, they were given instructions in English. They were asked to read the sentence that appeared on the computer screen and to decide whether the sentence was grammatical or ungrammatical. They were instructed to place their second and third fingers on the F and the T keys of the keyboard in front of them and press the T key for grammatical sentences and the F key for ungrammatical sentences. They were to regard any deviation from the norm as ungrammatical.

They were also instructed to respond as quickly as possible. They were all told that the experiment was a reaction time test and that the time they took to respond to each of the sentences would be recorded. They were further informed that the accuracy of their responses would also be recorded, and they were cautioned against pressing the keys more than once for any one sentence. It was made clear to them that such a response would be taken by the computer as an inaccurate response.

After all the instructions were given, the experimenter ran a practice program with twelve sample sentences and the subjects had a practice session designed to familiarize them with the testing techniques prior to the actual testing. Although the subjects were allowed to repeat the practice session if they were not comfortable with the procedures, none of the subjects felt the need to do so. The instructions were repeated one more time after the practice session was over. For the actual testing, the subjects were left alone to complete the test without interruption. All test sentences were re-randomized for each new subject.

RESULTS

Two dependent variables, RT and error rate, were recorded for statistical analysis. The independent variable was age of onset. The data were first analyzed for the four groups (Native, Early, Adolescent and Late) with ten subjects in each group. In addition, further analysis was done with each non-native group divided into two sub-groups (see below) of five subjects each. Correlations between the age of onset and the dependent variables, RT and error rate, were calculated for the subjects in each of the non-native groups as well as for all the non-native subjects as a whole. Next, the relationship between the two dependent variables was investigated.

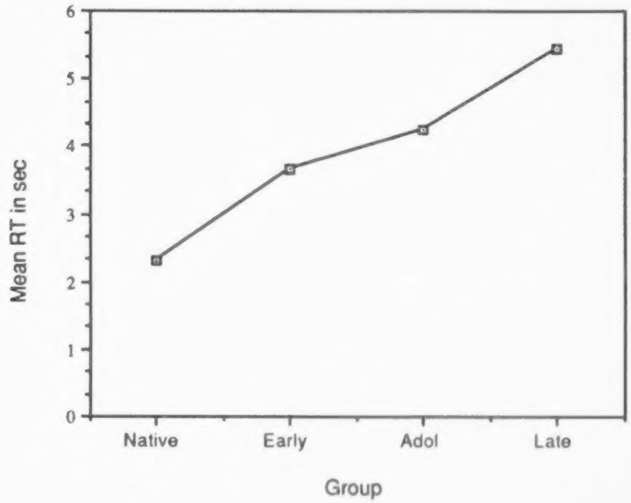
Reaction Time

For the RT variable, outlier RTs (greater than 2.5 s.d. above the subjects' mean) and RTs for incorrect responses were excluded from the analysis. The results are illustrated in Table 1. and Figure 1. (RTs are reported in seconds.) A one-way analysis of variance was conducted on the RT data, and it showed a significant group effect [$F(3,36) = 17.473$, $p < .001$]. The LSD post hoc was then used and it revealed that there were signigicant differences among all of the groups except between the Early and Adolescent groups.

Table 1. *Mean RTs for Groups*

	Native	Early	Adol	Late
mean age of arrival		5.4	11.8	25.3
mean RT	2.32	3.66	4.25	5.44
s.d.	0.44	0.92	0.87	1.44

Figure 1. *Mean RTs for Groups*

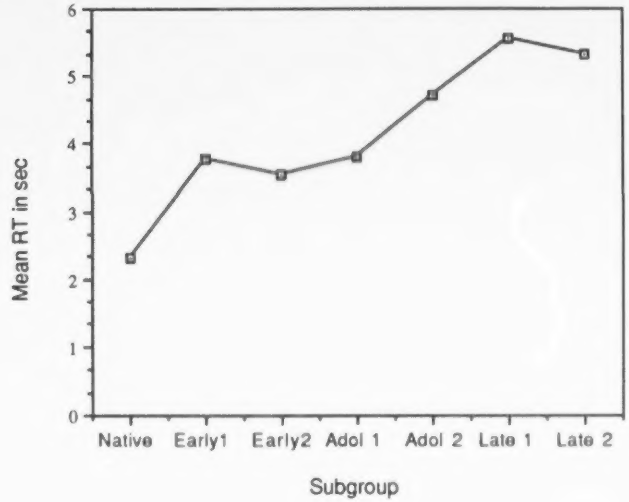


Two additional observations were that there was more variability within each of the non-native groups than within the native group and that the ranges of the ages in the non-native groups were somewhat large. Thus, something crucial might be happening within a particular group that could not be captured in a mean value. This led to the decision that further analysis of the data was needed, with the non-native groups divided into two groups of five according to age at onset of the L2. Table 2 and Figure 2 show the results. ANOVA showed a significant sub-group effect [F(6,33) = 6.983, p < .002], and the LSD test showed a number of significant between-group differences. The Native group was faster than all the non-native groups, and the two Late groups were significantly slower than the two Early groups and the first Adolescent group.

Table 2. *Mean RTs for Subgroups*

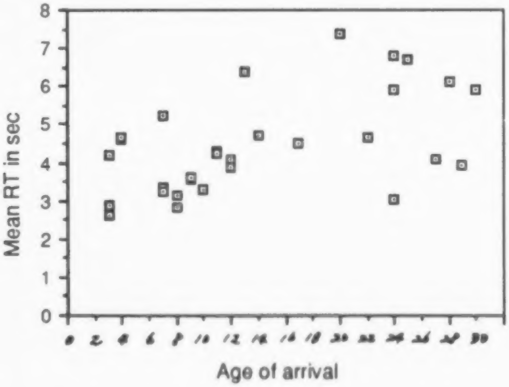
	Early 1	Early 2	Adol 1	Adol 2	Late 1	Late 2
age range	3-4	7-8	9-11	12-17	20-24	25-30
mean	3.4	7.4	10.0	13.6	22.8	27.8
mean RT	3.78	3.55	3.80	4.71	5.55	5.33
s.d.	0.97	0.97	0.43	1.00	1.76	1.24

Figure 2. *Mean RTs for Subgroups*



Finally, individual cases for the non-native subjects were observed in a scatterplot of arrival age and RT. The Pearson-Product Moment correlational analysis showed a significantly linear relationship ($r = .545$, $p < .01$).

Figure 3. *Scatterplot of Arrival Age and RT*



In view of the fact that Johnson and Newport had found a significant correlation between age of onset and error rate for subjects who arrived in the U.S. before age fifteen, correlational analyses were done separately for those who arrived in the U.S. before age seventeen (subjects in the Early group and the Adolescent group) and for those who arrived in the U.S. after age seventeen (subjects in the Late group). However, the results from these analyses did not match that of the Johnson and Newport study. The subjects in the Early group and the Adolescent group did not show a significant correlation between age of onset and their RTs.

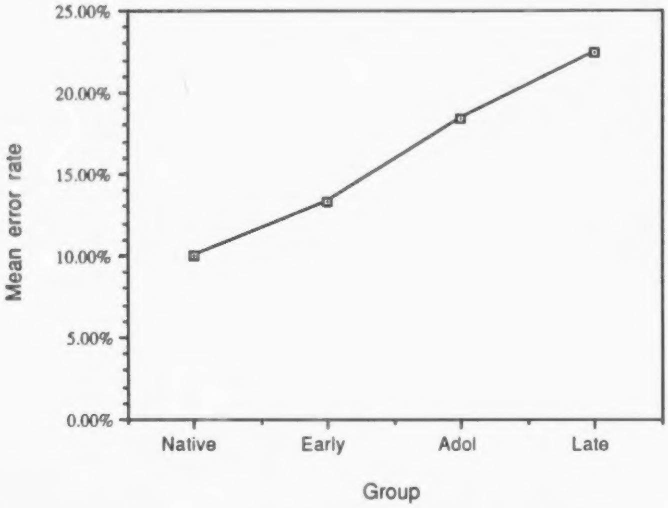
Error Rate

For the error rate variable, errors on grammatical sentences were not included in the analysis since it was difficult to determine which part of the grammatical sentence the subjects were responding to. This factor was also discussed in Johnson and Newport's study. A summary of the results for the error rate variable is presented below in Table 3 and Figure 4.

Table 3. *Mean Error Rates for Groups*

	Native	Early	Adol	Late
mean error rate	10.0%	13.3%	18.4%	22.5%
s.d.	6.5	6.5	5.7	14.1

Figure 4. *Mean Error Rates for Groups*



ANOVA of the results for error rate showed a significant group effect [F (3, 36) = 3.861, p < .017]. The LSD test also showed some significant between-group differences. The Native group was significantly more accurate that both the Adolescent and Late groups, and the Early group was also more accurate that the Late group.

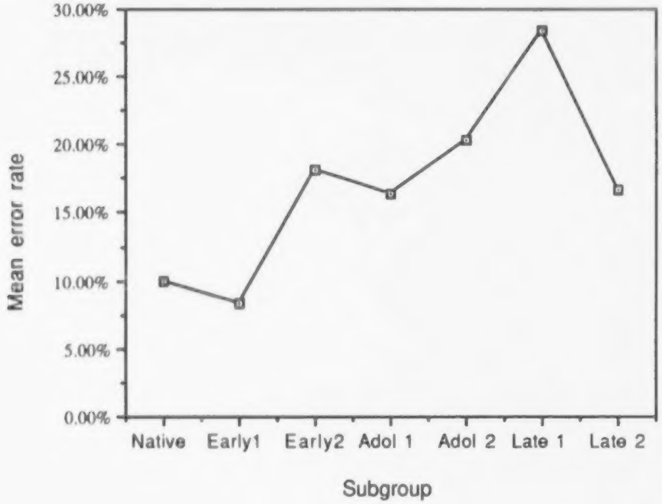
Once again, subgrouped data were analyzed in order obtain more information on within-group effects. Table 4 and Figure 5 show the results. ANOVA for the subgroup error data showed significant sub-group effects [F(6,33) = 3.525, p < .0085]. The LSD test again revealed some significant differences at the

.05 level. Both the Native and the first Early groups were significantly more accurate than the second Adolescent group and the first Late group. Also, the first Adolescent group was more accurate than the first Late group.

Table 4. *Mean Error Rates for Subgroups*

	Early 1	Early 2	Adol 1	Adol 2	Late 1	Late 2
mean error	8.38%	18.18%	16.34%	20.36%	28.36%	16.72%
s.d.	4.76	3.39	4.46	6.48	16.29	10.00

Figure 5. *Mean Error Rates for Subgroups*



When a scatterplot of arrival age and error rate was drawn, it was found that the overall correlation between the two variables was not significant. However, a significant correlation ($r = .657$, $p < .01$) was found when the Late group was excluded from the analysis. The Late group manifested great variability and showed a non-significant negative correlation between the two variables. These results, unlike the results from the RT analyses, are in accord with Johnson and Newport's results. Figure 6. illustrates these observations (next page).

Besides age of onset, one other factor considered in this experiment was the subjects' length of stay in the US. This factor, however, did not show a significant relationship with either of the two dependent variables.

The Relationship between RT and Error Rate

For the relationship between the two dependent variables, the results were dissimilar for the native speakers and the non-native speakers. For the Native group, the relationship was a linear, negative correlation which was significant at the .05 level. This result shows that the native speakers had a tendency to make

Figure 6. *Scatterplot of Arrival Age and Error Rate*

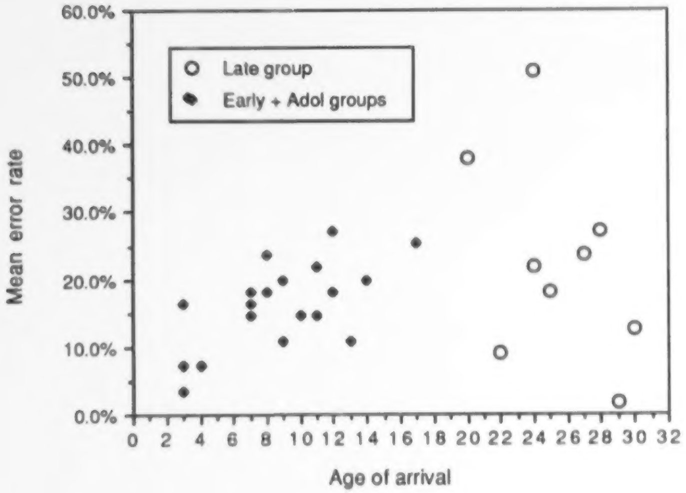
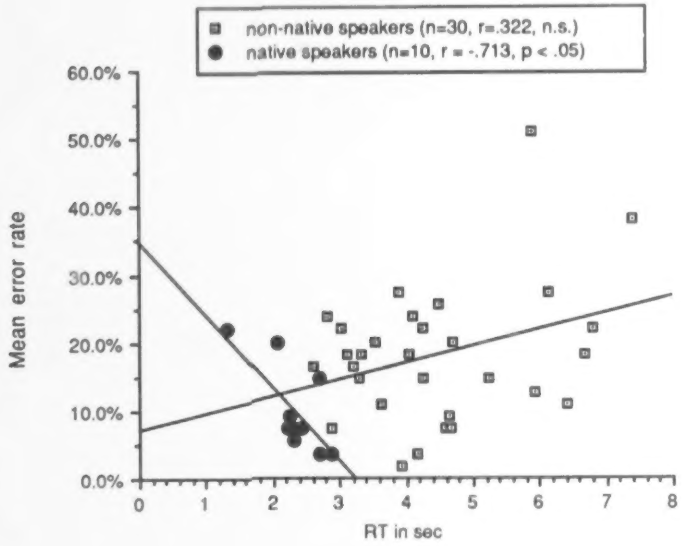


Figure 7. *Scatterplot of RT and Error Rate*



fewer mistakes when they took more time to respond and vice versa. However, the relationship between RT and error rate for the non-native speakers showed a non-significant, positive correlation. That is the tendency here is that the non-native speakers who took longer to respond also made more mistakes. Figure 7 illustrates these relationships. (Regression lines added to the data.)

DISCUSSION

Speed of Processing

An important result that emerged from this experiment was that a significant difference in RT was found between the Native group and the Early arrival group (ages three to eight). The RT variable in this experiment was a measure of speed in language processing. Thus, this strongly suggests that the sensitive period during which exposure to language results in native-like speed in grammaticality judgment is already past by the time a child reaches the age of three. If this speed can be interpreted as receptive fluency, this result suggests that, no matter how early one may be exposed to a second language, he/she cannot attain native-like fluency unless the second language is acquired before the age of three. This does not necessarily mean that the second language learner will make more grammatical mistakes. Rather, it means that the L2 speaker might need to take more time than the L1 speaker in processing linguistic input.

Thus the following hypothesis is supported by the above results:

> *The Sensitive Period Hypothesis on the Speed of L2 Processing: The sensitive period for attaining native-like processing speed in an L2 ends around the age of three.*

The next point of discussion is on the effect of age after the proposed sensitive period has ended. Unlike the difference between the Native group and the Early group, the difference between the Early group and the Adolescent group (ages nine to seventeen) was not statistically significant. The question is whether the difference can be ignored since statistical insignificance does not mean no difference.

If we need to take into consideration any difference that exists, then the difference of 0.59 sec between the Early and Adolescent groups could reflect a linear increase in RT as a function of increasing arrival age. This view is further supported by the significant correlation between arrival age and RT. Then, the indication is that the maturational effect on the speed of language processing begins to appear as early as age three.

Then, the above results support the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis I on the Maturational Effect on the Speed of L2 Processing.: After the end of the sensitive period around the age of three, the maturational effect causes a continuous linear decrease in the degree of L2 processing speed as the age of L2 onset increases.*

Nevertheless, the fact that there was no statistically significant difference between the Early group and the Adolescent group may need to be considered further. If one were to disregard the slight difference between the Early group and the Adolescent group, the following hypothesis is supported:

> *Hypothesis II on the Maturational Effect on the Speed of L2 Processing.: The maturational effect which causes a linear decrease in the degree of L2 processing speed as the age of L2 onset increases begins to appear only after adolescence around the age of seventeen.*

However, in view of the results that have been obtained so far, I believe that there is a possibility for yet another hypothesis. The following hypothesis gives a more satisfactory explanation of the results in that it takes into account not only the fact that a slight difference did emerge between the Early group and the Adolescent group but also the fact that this difference was non-significant.

> *A Second Sensitive Period Hypothesis on the Speed of L2 Processing.: There is a second sensitive period during adolescence which partially erases a prior maturational effect.*

Of course, this second sensitive period is not claimed to be as strong as the first sensitive period. The effect of the first sensitive period is in attaining native-like language processing speed. After this period has ended, such native-like processing speed becomes impossible. As stated in the above hypothesis, the effect of the second sensitive period is in partially erasing the maturational effect that takes place after the first sensitive period has ended. Thus a learner who begins L2 acquisition during adolescence (age nine to seventeen) when he can still benefit from the effects of the second sensitive period, may be able to attain a processing speed similar to that of a learner who begins L2 acquisition in childhood (age four to eight).

All of the hypotheses laid out above converge on the assumption that the initial sensitive period occurs before the age of three. They also agree in predicting that the late learners' level of L2 processing speed will be inferior to that of Adolescent and Early learners. One important relationship in the above hypotheses that needs to be pointed out here is that the Second Sensitive Period Hypothesis presumes a maturational effect prior to the end of adolescence. Thus it is to be considered only in conjunction with Hypotheses I on the Maturational Effect and not with Hypothesis II.

On the surface, Hypotheses I and II on the Maturational Effect seem to predict two different things. However, when the effect of the second sensitive period is taken into consideration, the predictions of the two hypotheses actually become quite similar (i.e., one may not notice any significant difference between Early learners and Adolescent learners). This is due to the fact that any L2 learner who is exposed to the L2 before adolescence will generally continue to get L2 input during the period of adolescence.

Thus, unless data can be obtained from L2 learners who have been exposed to L2 input discontinuously there is no definite way of obtaining evidence for either of the two hypotheses. For example, let us assume that there is an L2 learner who was exposed to the L2 environment before the proposed second sensitive period but who was deprived of L2 input precisely during the proposed second sensitive period. Then his level of L2 processing speed will not be affected by this deprivation if Hypothesis II is correct but will show signs of deprivation if Hypothesis I and the Second Sensitive Period Hypothesis are correct.

However, the problem here is in determining the exact time frame for the second sensitive period. "During adolescence" in this study loosely means anywhere from age nine to seventeen. This seems a little too long or indefinite. It would thus be helpful to take into account the finer distinctions within each of the groups. Although sample sizes became smaller when the groups were divided into two sub-groups of five subjects each, the pattern of the maturational effect within the groups could be determined and thus a clearer picture was obtained on the nature of the maturational effect.

But before getting into the discussion of the maturational effect, I would first like to mention that the sub-grouped data also clearly indicated that the sensitive period for attaining native-like speed in L2 processing was already over by the age of three: Early 1 group (age three to four) had a significantly slower RT than the Native group. Although it is possible to assume that the sensitive period begins from the time of birth, I am adhering to a more conservative age range since I wish to leave open the possibility that the sensitive period does not begin at birth. If one assumes that the sensitive period for attaining native-like speed in language processing begins at birth, there is a joint assumption that the neuronal development for the linguistic faculty is complete and functioning at birth before there is any independent, outside linguistic stimuli. However, it can be argued that the sensitive period for a uniquely human feature such as language may begin sometime after the birth of the baby when the infant is exposed to external linguistic stimuli.

If babbling is considered to be a manifestation of pre-linguistic processes, the assumption that the sensitive period begins at birth would be supported by the fact that a baby born to deaf-mute parents and therefore deprived of external linguistic stimuli also shows signs of babbling around the same time a normal infant begins to babble. But research on postnatal development of human cerebral cortex around Broca's area has revealed increasing density of neuropil especially between 15 and 24 months after birth (Conel's figures as presented in Lenneberg 1967, 160-161). Thus the claim could be made that the sensitive period for ultimate native-like speed in L2 processing falls around the age range of one to two.

After the end of this sensitive period, the results showed definite signs of the maturational effect during adolescence. In other words, the appearance of the maturational effect was not delayed untill the end of adolescence as Hypothesis II proposed. Furthermore, it was only the adolescent group that showed a positive (although non-significant) correlation between RT and arrival age. Thus, there seemed to be strong indications of the existence of the maturational effect during adolescence and not after adolescence.

However, the decline in processing speed due to the maturational effect did not show an overall linear relationship between arrival age and RT as Hypothesis I might predict on its own. Instead, the observation was that the RTs of the subjects in Early 1 group (age three to four) and Adol 1 group (age nine to eleven) showed only marginal differences which did not have any linear relationship.

Thus, at this point, the most plausible explanation seems to lie with a modified version of the Second Sensitive Period Hypothesis such that the words "during adolescence" are changed to "from age three to around age eleven." Such a definition on the time frame of the second sensitive period makes it possible to collapse the two hypotheses on the maturational effect into one hypothesis with two distinct phases of the maturational effect: The first phase appears after the end of the first sensitive period (around age three) and has the effect of abruptly decreasing the ultimate speed of L2 processing. The second phase begins at the point when the second sensitive period ends (around age eleven) and it has the effect of decreasing the ultimately attainable speed of L2 processing as the age of L2 onset increases.

With the above changes in the hypothesis for the maturational effect, the question remains as to what happens during the second sensitive period. If a linear decrease in L2 processing speed as a result of increasing age of L2 onset is only noted after the second sensitive period, this implies that the effect of the second sensitive period is not in erasing the effects of maturation but in temporarily stabilizing the ultimately attainable speed of L2 processing at the Early learner level.

Another point that needs to be considered before coming to a conclusion is the time frame for the end of the maturational effect. Claims that human maturational/growth processes stop around early adulthood are not new. Keeping this in mind, it was not surprising to find that the two Late groups only showed marginal differences. The significant difference appeared between the Adol 1 group (ages nine to eleven) and the Late 1 group (ages twenty to twenty-four). This observation leads to the conclusion that the maturational effect takes place only until the end of the natural maturation period. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that the maturational effect should continue to occur when there is, in fact, no maturation going on.

Thus, the results have indicated the following: If one does not begin to learn a second language from infancy (i.e., during the first sensitive period), that person will not be able to process the language as quickly as a person who learns the language as the L1. Moreover, if a person begins L2 learning only after early adolescence around age eleven (i.e., after the end of the second sensitive period), her/his speed in L2 processing will show a negative correlation with the age of L2 onset and this speed will be slower than that of a person who begins to learn L2 during childhood (i.e., during the second sensitive period). Third, if a learner begins L2 acquisition during the proposed second sensitive period (i.e., from age three to eleven), age of L2 onset does not influence the ultimately attainable speed in L2 processing. Finally, if one begins to learn the L2 after the natural maturational processes are over, that is, after early adulthood, the person's L2 processing speed will be significantly slower than that of someone who began learning the L2 before the end of the second sensitive period.

A terminological issue needs to be discussed before I can give the final formulation of the hypotheses. Although they are both referred to as sensitive periods in this study, there is a major difference in the two sensitive periods that I have proposed above. If the L2 is learned during the first sensitive period, it is possible for the L2 learner to attain native-like speed in L2 processing. If the L2 is learned during the second sensitive period, the L2 learner can attain the processing speed of an early L2 learner. In view of the above facts, it seems rather misleading to refer to these sensitive periods as the first and the second. Such labelling does imply a difference in terms of the time when their effects are noted but it does not distinguish them in terms of the strength of the effects or influences they cause. In order to avoid such misunderstanding, I have replaced the words "First" and "Second" with "Primary" and "Secondary" in the final formulation of the hypotheses.

Thus the following hypotheses concerning the sensitive periods and the maturational effect have been supported by this study:

The Hypothesis on the Primary Sensitive Period on the Speed of L2 Processing.

The primary sensitive period for attaining native-like processing speed in an L2 ends around the age of three.

The Hypothesis on the Secondary Sensitive Period on the Speed of L2 Processing.

There is a secondary sensitive period from age three to around age eleven during which the ultimately attainable speed of L2 processing speed is stabilized at the early learner level.

The Hypothesis on the Maturational Effect on the Speed of L2 Processing.

Part I: After the end of the primary sensitive period, the maturational effect causes an abrupt decrease in the ultimately attainable speed of L2 processing.

Part II: After the end of the secondary sensitive period, the maturational effect causes a continuous linear decrease in the degree of L2 processing speed as the age of L2 onset increases.

Accuracy of Syntactic Judgment

Results for error rate were slightly different from the results for RT. Although there was an increase in the error rate between the Native group and the Early group, this difference was not statistically significant. Furthermore, the differences between the Early group and the Adolescent group and between the Adolescent group and the Late group were not significant. Thus, even though there was a linear increase in the error rate as a function of age of onset, none of the pairs of groups "adjacent" to each other in age showed a statistically significant difference. Moreover, the correlational analysis failed to show a significant relationship between age of arrival and error rate. This result is in conflict with the findings of Johnson and Newport since they found a significant correlation between these two variables. However, the conflict is not strong enough to contradict the claim that there is a maturational effect. The data do show a progressive increase in error rates for the non-native groups.

Error rate is interpreted as reflecting accuracy in performance. Since the difference in the error rates was significant between the Native group and the Adolescent group, it seems that the sensitive period for attaining native-like accuracy does exist sometime before adolescence (around age eleven). Another implication is that there might not be a continuous maturational effect over a period of time but rather an abrupt decrease in the ultimately attainable level of accuracy in syntactic judgment at the end of the sensitive period. This is supported by the observation that there was no significant difference between the Adolescent group and the Late group. The fact that the overall correlation between age of arrival and error rate was not significant is also suggestive of this possibility.

Thus according to this set of data, there seems to be a "turning point" around early adolescence (age eleven) after which a second language learner cannot attain a level of accuracy comparable to that of a learner who began L2 acquisition before this "turning point." Then, the sensitive period for the acquisition of accuracy in syntactic judgment may be claimed to be the whole period prior to this "turning point."

In order to get a clearer picture of the relationship between the two variables, the variability within each of the groups was considered. However, not much information could be gained from the variances since they remained fairly constant for all except the Late group. Nevertheless, this did show that the Late group behaved unlike all other groups. Once again, subgrouped data provided more information.

As expected from earlier results, this set of data did not show a significant difference between the Native group and the Early 1 group (three to four age range). Thus, it supports the view that the sensitive period for attaining native-like accuracy in syntactic judgment is still continuing at the age of four.

On the other hand, the maturational effect definitely seems to have taken place by early adolescence (age eleven). The Adol 2 group (age twelve to seventeen) performed at a level significantly inferior to that of both the Native and the Early 1 (age three to four) groups. The fact that the two Early groups showed quite a large difference is also suggestive of the maturational effect taking place during childhood. A strong relationship between age of arrival and error rate was noted within the Early group. Even though the difference in the error rates between the two Early groups was not statistically significant, the correlation between age of onset and error rate was significant in the Early group. Also a positive correlation within the Adolescent group, although not significant, contributed to the significant difference between the Early 1 group and the Adol 2 group.

Thus, the tentative suggestion that the sensitive period for accuracy in syntactic judgment lasts until early adolescence (age eleven) needs to be revised. Since Early 1 group (age three to four) showed no significant difference from the Native group in their error rate, one can safely propose that the sensitive period for ultimately acquiring native-like ability to accurately judge the syntax of the L2 extends to at least the age of four. However, signs of a maturational effect in childhood clearly indicate that the sensitive period ends sometime in childhood (around age five or six). Thus the results support the following hypothesis:

> A Sensitive Period Hypothesis on Accuracy of Syntactic Judgment in an L2:
>
> The sensitive period for the development of native-like accuracy in grammaticality judgment in an L2 ends around the age of five to six.

Next, in formulating a hypothesis about the nature of the maturational effect on the accuracy of syntactic judgment, it needs to be determined whether Early 2 (age seven to eight) or Adol. 1 (age nine to eleven) would mark the end of the maturational period. As it has already been implicated as an influential period in previous discussions of RT, Adol. 1 (around age eleven) is again preferred as the "turning point."

Then the maturational effect on the ultimately attainable level of accuracy in grammaticality judgment probably exists during the period that extends from around the age of five until early adolescence (age eleven) and the following hypothesis is supported:

> A Maturational Effect Hypothesis on Accuracy of Syntactic Judgment in an L2:
>
> After the end of the sensitive period, the maturational effect causes a linear decrease in the ultimately attainable accuracy in L2 processing as the age of L2 onset increases. This effect continues until early adolescence (around age eleven).

After early adolescence (age twelve and over), especially for the late learners, the maturational effect seems to play a relatively smaller role in the ultimately attainable level of accuracy in L2 processing. The result from the Late group showed a negative correlational coefficient, with the Late 2 group performing at a level very similar to that of the Early 2 (seven to eight age range) and the two Adolescent groups. Not only was the second late learner group's performance similar to the early adolescent learners, the variability within the Late group was significantly greater than in the Adolescent group.

Therefore, until early adolescence, age is the dominant factor in determining the ultimate level of accuracy in L2 processing. However, after early adolescence until early adulthood, the maturational effect may continue to exist but the effect seems to be obscured by other factors that may not be related to age. Thus one can expect greater variability in the accuracy of learners who begin learning the L2 after early adolescence than before.

The important distinction between the Primary Sensitive Period for RT and the Sensitive Period for error rate is that the latter hypothesis does not necessarily assume that late learners *cannot* attain near-native accuracy while the former one does predict that attaining native-like speed of L1 processing is impossible for late learners. The consequences of such a difference is the conclusion that while success in attaining native-like speed in L2 processing is strongly related to age, success in the internalization of grammatical rules may be related to age *and* other non-age factors.

The main objective of this experiment was to examine possible age-related effects on second language processing. The results indicated strong age effects on speed of processing and somewhat weaker effects on accuracy of syntactic judgment. Then the question that arises here is: What are the other main factors that contribute to the ultimate level of accuracy in L2 processing, and what effects do they have on speed of processing?

As was mentioned above, it was the late arrivals who exhibited a negative correlation between age of arrival and the error rate. An attempt was made to investigate in detail, each of the individuals in the late group. Careful analysis of the data revealed that there was one subject from the Late group who behaved in a significantly deviant way such that it deserves mention here.

That subject (JF) had an error rate that was more than 2.5 standard deviations below his group's mean. His error rate (1.8%) was not only the lowest in his group, it was the lowest among *all* subjects' error rates, including the native speakers. If he were considered an outlier and his error data were removed from the correlational analysis, the correlation would be stronger. In fact, it would become statistically significant at the 0.01 level (r = 0.494).

Although informal, the observation was made that JF's good performance may be explained at least in part with the following reasons: First, he was a highly motivated person. While other subjects in the late group seem to be satisfied with their present level of English proficiency as long as it was sufficient to serve them as a tool in obtaining their degrees, he expressed the desire to achieve a higher level of proficiency. This was certainly not because his level of English proficiency was lower than the other subjects in the Late Group. In fact, his TOEFL score was the third highest in his group and his answers to Part II of the language background questionnaire showed that he was performing better than most of the other subjects in daily activities of using English. And yet, when asked to rate himself on the level of proficiency in English, he gave a score that was lower than the scores that most of the other subjects gave. Thus it was rather obvious that he had set for himself a standard of performance that was much higher than the rest of the subjects and he was constantly striving to reach that goal. A second reason for his good performance may be found in the fact that he was the only person whose area of studies was directly related to the teaching of English as a second language. He was therefore, constantly immersed in an environment that encouraged correction of any error in the uses of English.

In the present experiment, factors such as level of motivation or degree of assimilation to the American culture were not formally analyzed. However, the implication from the above observation is that psycholinguistic and/or sociolinguistic factors may indeed play a significant role in the ultimate accuracy of syntactic judgment for at least some L2 learners. And it naturally follows that all formulations of the SPH for L2 acquisition need to address the issue of individual differences in the L2 learners—differences that may underlie the variations in the accuracy of syntactic judgments.

Also of interest is that fact that several L2 subjects performed as well as the native speakers. That is, the mean error rate of the Native group was 10.0%, and there were four subjects in the Early group whose error rate was less than 10.0%, two subjects in the Adolescent group whose error rate was 10.9% and besides JF, there was a subject in the Late group whose error rate was 9.1%.

Moreover, there was a great deal of overlap among the subjects across different groups. The highest error rate in the Native group was 21.8%. Of the ten Early arrivals, nine of them had error rates lower than 21.8%. Similarly, eight of the Adolescent arrivals had error rates lower than 21.8% and even in the Late arrival group, six of them had lower than 21.8% error rates.

These observations seem to provide direct evidence against any strong version of the SPH regarding accuracy of syntactic judgment in an L2. However, there are some important points that need to be considered in the interpretation of results from an experiment such as this.

One needs to bear in mind two important limitations of this experiment (or of any other experiment of similar design). The first is that the set of sentences used in the experiment was only a very limited set of sentences representing a finite set of grammatical categories. The second is that the subjects were relatively homogeneous—i.e., they were educated, motivated, and academically oriented.

Thus the fact that some subjects performed at the native speaker level in this experiment does not necessarily mean that these subjects would perform at the native speaker level on all possible syntactic categories on all possible English sentences. Nor does it mean that anyone from the whole population of immigrants or uneducated non-native speakers would be able to perform at the native speaker level.

Another point to be made about this experiment is that the subjects, especially the Late arrival group, were all very familiar with written English. Their first contact with English was through the reading mode and at the time of the testing, reading was still their primary mode of use in their academic life. Thus, their "good" performance on syntactic judgments in written English may have been due to the effect of method of learning and/or of use. It is possible that they may not have performed as well in speaking and/or listening tasks. Johnson and Newport's findings support such a conclusion.

Therefore, several factors other than age of arrival could have influenced subjects' accuracy in this experiment: (1) motivation, (2) method of learning, or (3) a combination of (1) and (2). This discussion then leads to the question of whether or not such factors play an important role in speed of processing, as they apparently do in accuracy of syntactic judgment.

Analysis of individual RTs showed that the subject (JF) who was an outlier for accuracy in syntactic judgment was not an outlier for speed of processing. JF's RT was well within his group range (less than 1 s.d. from the group mean) and eliminating his RT from the correlation did not have much effect on strengthening the correlation between onset age and RT.

Why did JF's individual factors—whatever they may have been—not affect his RT as strongly as they did his error rate? One reason could be that speed of L2 processing is a distinct component in the acquisition of an L2 and that this component is relatively unaffected by factors not related to age. However, it does not seem to be the case that age of onset is the sole factor that affects speed of processing. Although the exclusion of JF's RT did not contribute towards strengthening the correlation, there was certainly much overlap among the observations across groups and there were even some instances of late arrivals responding as fast as Early arrivals. Thus, the question of what other factors affect the ultimate speed in L2 processing needs to be addressed in further studies.

The Separateness of Processing Speed and Level of Accuracy

Finally, the issue of the relationship between the two dependent variables in this experiment needs to be addressed before final conclusions can be reached. The question is whether or not there is a relationship between speed and accuracy of L2 processing in spite of the fact that experiential factors seem to selectively influence accuracy. If there is a relationship, what is the pattern of this relationship?

A comparison of the two dependent variables revealed a strong negative correlation between the two variables in the native speakers, but this was not the case for the non-native speakers. One reason behind such a pattern of correlations may be in that while the native speakers are able to respond more accurately (make less errors) if they take more time, non-native speakers do not become more accurate even if they take more time. Instead, the non-native speakers actually showed a non-significant positive relationship, i.e., the longer the response time, the more errors they made. Thus on the whole, one can say that a speed-accuracy trade off was observed in the native-speakers' performance but there was no such observation for the non-native speakers.

Further investigation of the correlations within each group revealed that the positive trend in the relationship between speed of processing and accuracy in judgment was not constant for all the three groups. Rather, the correlation gradually changed from a negative trend to a positive trend. That is, the early arrivals maintained the expected negative relationship which showed some speed-accuracy trade-off (although at a non-significant level) but the late group exhibited a positive relationship. The adolescent group showed almost no relationship between the two variables.

Moreover, correlational analyses between age of arrival and the two dependent variables did not show similar results. Correlations showed a continuous age effect on speed of processing up to early adulthood. However, such an age effect was only observed to exist up to early adolescence in the case of accuracy in judgment (this result is similar to the findings of Johnson and Newport). This again implies that the two variables may indeed be measurements of distinct linguistic processes.

Thus, the conclusions that can be reached at this point are that (1) the non-native speakers seem to have fundamental difficulties with the grammaticality of the sentences, and longer response time does not help in improving their accuracy; (2) the speed of RT may have a relatively fixed range for the early group and the adolescent group, with greater individual variability in accuracy; and (3) for the late arrival group, the subjects who were most accurate had a certain advantage in speed within a limited range (i.e., although they were as accurate as the native speakers, they could not also be as fast).

CONCLUSION

Summary

Several significant results have emerged from this experiment. The goal of this experiment was certainly reached in that some definite conclusions could be drawn about the effects of age on second language acquisition. Two hypotheses, one concerning the automatization process that ultimately influences fluency, and another concerning the accuracy of syntactic judgments, have been formulated in accordance with the results.

As was apparent from the hypotheses, the sensitive period for achieving native-like processing speed and the sensitive period for attaining native-like accuracy in syntactic judgment are not identical. Furthermore, there are some specific differences in the hypotheses that lead to the following conclusions:

1. Native-like processing speed and accuracy in grammaticality judgment are two distinct linguistic processes.
2. The sensitive period for attaining native-like speed in processing ends at least before the age of three.
3. The sensitive period for achieving native-like accuracy in grammaticality judgment does not end until the age of five.
4. After the end of the sensitive period, maturational effects take place for both processing speed and accuracy and the result is a linear decrease in ultimate performance as a function of the age of onset.
5. Accuracy is much more susceptible to the effects of experiential factors such as motivation, method of learning, and intensity of training than is processing speed.

The bright side of the conclusions that have been reached in this study is that if one is exceptionally motivated to learn a second language, invests a lot of time and a great deal of practice, and is given much training, there is a possibility that such a person may overcome the age effect and achieve near-native accuracy, although native-like fluency may be quite impossible.

Implications for Further Research

Since total linguistic competence is necessarily the sum (or the product) of proficiency in all linguistic components, the separate components such as phonology, semantics, and pragmatics must be investigated before the final picture of the sensitive period for L2 acquisition can emerge.

It has been observed in this study that speed of language processing is a distinct process in its own right and that this aspect needs to be addressed separately from accuracy. Although there was some interdependency between speed and accuracy, there were stronger indications that the two are quite different processes. Further research needs to be done that compares these two processes.

A broader category of structures and more complex items need to be tested in future research. There is a possibility that the results of such research may indicate a slightly different sensitive period for other structures that were not tested in this experiment.

Another aspect that also needs to be investigated is other modes of language use (listening, speaking, writing) in timed tasks. For example, it is necessary to observe the performance of non-native speakers in spontaneous oral production under a time constraint. One could thereby account for both phonology and appropriate uses of syntax and semantics as well as speed of production. Avoidance effects in spontaneous production may also be examined as well as errors in what is actually produced.

Next, smaller class intervals (in ages of arrival) and larger samples are necessary in view of the large variances that were present in every group. Even after the subjects were grouped into smaller intervals, the data still showed a great deal of variation.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a point about data analysis needs to be made here. As has been shown in this paper, it is indeed critical to examine the data from individual observations as well as from grouped observations. One cannot assume that every subject in the sample group behaves in the same way unless the group variance is zero. Furthermore, any hypothesis based on grouped data has to be corroborated by close examination of individual behavior, unless there is absolutely no overlap in measures of linguistic performance across groups.

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NOTES

[1] However, I am not undermining the importance of or the need for an experiment that tests early learner bilinguals against monolingual native speakers. Such an experiment is especially important if preliminary testing shows that early bilinguals are performing at an apparently native-speaker level.

[2] The twelve categories are: past tense morpheme, plural morpheme, third person singular morpheme, present progressive morpheme, determiners, pronominalization, particle movement of phrasal verbs, verb subcategorization, auxiliary + verb construction, yes/no questions, Wh-questions, and word order

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IDEAL 6, 1993

AN ANALYSIS OF TELEVISED TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS

Nina Skokut

Most non-native speakers of English in an ESL environment (e.g., in the United States) need to be familiar with the structure of an English telephone conversation in order to function in everyday life. Many ESL textbooks include sections on telephone functions, such as "leaving a message" or "asking for information," but do not present the basic structure of a telephone call between friends. To supplement their texts, ESL teachers sometimes turn to videotaped telephone conversations, without questioning their pragmatic appropriateness.

This paper examines the structure of televised telephone conversations as compared with theoretical structures of such conversations. The data (fifty-four telephone conversations) were obtained from commercial television "soap operas." The results of the investigation show that some sections of the televised conversations do resemble naturally occurring speech, as represented in the theoretical frameworks, while others do not.

Before presenting televised telephone calls as accurate representations of real-life conversations, ESL teachers should be aware that these differences exist.

The final section of the paper deals with the pedagogical implications of the findings. Several student errors (which may be remedied through the specific presentation of telephone structure) are also presented.

INTRODUCTION

The structure of a telephone conversation varies from culture to culture. In some countries, a phone is answered with the addressee's telephone number. In some countries, it is considered impolite to leave a message if the addressee is not at home. In some countries, an interrupting phone call takes precedence over face-to-face conversation. Whatever the case may be, it is important to remember that, as with other facets of another's culture, one cannot interpret the telephoning behavior of that culture in terms of one's own.

In an ESL situation (e.g., in the U.S.), the teaching of phone conversation structure is important because the learners are certain to be using the telephone in everyday life. In an EFL situation, the emphasis is often on teaching business phone call structure because many students aspire to work in international companies where this type of knowledge would be needed. As a result, almost all of the audiotapes (of phone calls) that accompany textbook series contain "scripted" versions of calls to travel agents, banks, etc.

Many current functional/notional ESL textbooks include sections on telephone language. The focus of these materials, however, is usually on "leaving a message," "asking for information," etc. The skeletal structure of a basic phone call is rarely included as something to be learned. Rather, textbook authors seem to assume students will "pick up" what should be included in a phone conversation.

The coverage in textbooks is more limited than one would hope, but there is a bright side to this problem. As video equipment becomes more and more popular in the ESL classroom, the teacher's choice of material widens. For example, teachers may use prepackaged videos or may record programs off the airwaves for teaching ESL. And even though the phone conversations that become available in this way are frequently one-sided, they can often be used as models of what the teachers and publishers assume to be "natural" English conversation.

The authenticity of scripted prose is generally accepted in the literature. Kachru (1992) states that data from literary works "are certainly as 'authentic' as those elicited by questionnaire or role-play-type instruments which are common in cross-cultural speech act research" (p. 44). Villegas and Medley (1988) suggest that naturally occurring language (**by** native speakers **for** native speakers) may indeed be found in video, audio, or print. Authentic material in their eyes is devoid of "pedagogical processing" (p. 467). Little, et. al. (1989) write, "Essentially an authentic text is a text that was created to fulfill some social purpose in the language community in which it was produced" (p. 25). He considers radio and television broadcasts to be authentic.

Rings (1986, p. 207) has developed a ranking of sixteen levels of authenticity of text types. The #1 ranking, "Native speakers' spontaneous conversations produced for their own purposes (no knowledge of being monitored)" is the only purely authentic text type. As far as scripted drama is concerned, Rings places "Plays written by a genius in language use and enacted by good actors/actresses" at #4 and "Plays whose dialogue does not correspond to actual dialogue" at #14. Rings states that #1 to #10 "would be considered acceptable for use in the second language classroom" (p. 207).

What authors refer to as "authentic **unrehearsed** discourse" (Ur, 1984, p. 23), "**unplanned** discourse" (Rings, 1986, p. 204), or "**unmodified** authentic discourse" (Geddes and White, in Omaggio, 1986, p. 128) is NOT always the most desirable material for class use. The spontaneity that characterizes such speech may produce a myriad of overlaps, backchannel, gaps, and pauses that might possibly do more harm than good when used pedagogically. This type of speech is also very difficult technically to "plan" for and surreptitiously record. If a teacher wished to record naturally occurring instances of a certain speech act, s/he would have to, as Salzmann (1989) describes, "carry a video camera, audio tape recorder, or steno pad for hours at a time" (pp. 154-160).

A total acceptance of off-air video recordings as authentic may be dangerous, however. A scriptwriter's intuitions may produce realistic dialogue as far as some speech acts are concerned, but may be "off target" with others. For complete assurance that scripted dialogue reproduced a particular speech act or event faithfully, comparison between data taken from video sources and theoretical frameworks must be made. This paper will do just that.

First, we will examine the research on the topic of telephone conversation structure done by Emanuel A. Schegloff (partly in collaboration with Harvey Sacks) and others whose work is central to that of later researchers. Then we will report on data taken from television shows, and set out to test the hypothesis that these videotaped conversations reflect the theoretical structures found in research.

Schegloff's Framework for Personal Phone Calls

Opening section. Schegloff's earliest rule of telephone conversation is known as the "Distribution Rule." Simply put, this rule states that the answerer speaks first. In spite of its descriptive accuracy, Schegloff (1972) himself says that this rule goes against logic. He writes, "While a caller knows both his own identity and, typically, that of his intended interlocutor..., the answerer at least in most cases, knows who **he** is and not specifically who the caller is" (p. 351). Logically, if person X calls friend Y (and knows Y will answer), X could comfortably start the conversation. However, this does not usually happen, and so Schegloff had to modify his rule to account for why the answerer speaks first.

The new principle, "Summons-Answer Sequence," (SA) subsumes the Distribution Rule. If a telephone ring is considered a "summons," the "Hello" of the person who speaks first may be considered the answer. A strong justification for this analysis is the fact that in everyday English we say that someone *answers* the telephone. The very use of the word *answer* here implies that the person picking up the telephone when it rings is responding to an interaction already begun by the one who dialed the number in the first place.

A summons is a very powerful way to generate conversation. Society puts a constraint on its members to answer a summons. If a person chooses not to answer a summons, s/he will be seen as "insulting," and this behavior is considered "deviant" in psychological terms. Therefore, when no one answers a phone call, the caller assumes that no one is at home or that the intended interlocutor is sleeping or in the shower before considering the possibility that the non-answer is deliberate.

Also, the nature of a ringing telephone as a summons may be seen in this observation by Saville-Troike (1982, p. 13). "Many people will not pick up the telephone in the middle of a ring because they feel it is an interruption of the summons."

Schegloff points out that whether a summons occurs in face-to-face interaction or over the telephone, an opening SA sequence binds both summoner and answerer (i.e. both must continue). This phenomenon is labeled the "nonterminality property" by Schegloff. More specifically, we can say that the summoner must talk again upon the completion of the SA sequence, even if it is only:

A. Sam?
B. Yeah?
A. Oh, never mind.

(Schegloff, 1972, p. 360).

Also, the answerer has the obligation to listen further after answering a summons. In the above example, we assume that the answerer heard the summoner's final utterance. Neither participant is free to hang up immediately after the SA sequence without being rude.

Another property of the SA sequence is that of "conditional relevance." This property focuses on the sequentiality of the two items (summons and answer). Schegloff (1972) writes, "...given the first item, the second is expectable; upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first..." (p. 364). Nothing can intervene between a summons and an answer. If the answer does not occur, it is inferred that the intended answerer is "officially absent," and the summons may be repeated at a later time.

Conditional relevance refers not only to the relationship between a summons-answer, but also to the relationship between an SA sequence and further talk. In the U.S., the "Hello?" by the answerer generally signals the availability to talk. Godard (1977) notes the authoritative character of a telephone ring as a summons in the U.S. when she writes that "a telephone ring takes precedence over any activity one is performing at the time of a call.." (p. 215). It seems that a caller in the U.S. assumes that s/he has all the rights when using a telephone as a summoning device. This observation would help to explain how difficult it is for most people to just let a telephone ring without answering it.

After the initial SA sequence, it is the caller's first turn to actually speak. This turn is called 'turn 2' (after the answerer's 'turn 1', ie., "Hello?"). This second turn may take many forms, depending on the relationship of the interlocutors and the reason for the call. The basic concern on the part of both caller and answerer at this point is the clear recognition and/or identification of both parties.

Since the answerer speaks first, the first recognition opportunity is the caller's. In most of the nine "turn 2" components listed by Schegloff (1979, p. 28), it is evident that the caller has recognized the answerer by the voice quality of the "Hello." These nine types are:

1. greeting term — "Hello?" "Hi."
2. address term (quasi-interrogative) — "Irene?"
3. address term (assertive, exclamatory) — "Phil!"
4. question or noticing answerer's state — "Oh, you're home."
5. first topic — "Hi, 'r my kids there?"
6. request to speak to another ("switchboard" request) — "May I speak to Bonnie?"
7. self-identification — "Hello, it's me."
8. question regarding identity of answerer — "Is this Kitty?"
9. joke (funny accent, incorrect identification, etc.) — "Ho ho ho! Merry Christmas!"

By saying something like "Hi" or "Phil!," the caller shows that s/he immediately recognized the person answering the phone. If this were not so, the caller would have used some sort of interrogative (e.g. "Betty?" or "Hi, is this Betty?"). The caller clearly has the advantage in the recognition "dilemma" because s/he has chosen to call a particular residence where the range of potential answerers is likely to be small.

The more difficult problem is that of the recognition of the caller by the answerer. The most common turn 2 components on Schegloff's list have the caller uttering a greeting, a term of address, or a check on his/her initial tentative identification of the answerer. As can be seen, these examples of voice quality are very short, but U.S. interlocutors bet on being recognized at this point in the conversation. Sifianou (1989) cites this quality of linguistic optimism as typical of the "positive politeness" that governs behavior in both the U.S. and Greek communities. This preference for less overt sharing of information and the use of in-group markers "...reflects and is a result of ..." a politeness orientation (p. 535).

The preferred opening sequence of a personal phone call in the U.S. is summarized by Levinson (1983, p. 312) as follows (C = the caller; R = the respondent):

	C: ((rings))	((SUMMONS))
T_1	R: Hello	((ANSWER)) + ((DISPLAY FOR RECOGNITION))
T_2	C: Hi	((GREETINGS 1ST PART)) ((CLAIM THAT C HAS RECOGNIZED R)) ((CLAIM THAT R CAN RECOGNIZE C))
T_3	R: Oh HI	((GREETINGS 2ND PART)) ((CLAIM THAT R HAS RECOGNIZED C))

If the answerer does not immediately recognize the caller's voice, then there will probably be a gap of silence, which may be as short as 0.2 seconds. This silence signals that some sort of repair must be undertaken. Schegloff (1979) notes that "whichever of the parties breaks the silence, it is with identification-relevant talk" (p. 40). If the silence is broken by the caller, the most likely repair is self-identification. If a brief form of self-identification is not successful, more information can be added, e.g.,

A. Hello?
B. Hi, Mary.
(silence)
B. It's Jim.
(silence)
B. Petrowski.
A. Oh, HI, Jim.

A "big hello" softens the face-threatening nature of non-recognition.

If the silence is broken by the answerer (e.g. "Who's this?"), the caller may then either self-identify or make a joke in order to offer a longer voice sample. The frequent choice of the latter supports the notion that when the two parties know each other it is more desirable to be recognized than to have to self-identify **after** the turn 2 component. It also helps to explain why, if the answerer does not recognize the voice of the caller, he or she may assume that recognition will take place after a few more turns and become involved in what Schegloff (1979, p. 54) terms "deception." In this case, the answerer responds to the turn 2 component of the caller as if recognition were achieved and hopes for the best.

To avoid the potential awkwardness of non-recognition, some callers prefer to identify themselves. The identification may take place in the caller's first speaking turn, e.g. "Hi, Mary. It's Jim Petrowski." Or, the caller may wait before s/he self-identifies, as in the following sequence:

A. Hello.
B. Donna?

→ A. Yes?
→ B. It's Anne.

Some people prefer to take no chances by identifying themselves even though the answerer already knows who they are:

A. Hello.
B. Tom?
A. Hi.
→ B. It's Diana.
A. Yeah, I know.

To sum up, we may say that in the U.S., callers tend to avoid identifying themselves or do so covertly. In these cases, self-identification is usually used as a follow-up strategy when necessary.

First topic. After recognition has been achieved by both caller and answerer, the first topic is usually introduced by the caller. This topic is seen as the main reason for the call. If the first topic comes immediately after the opening section, "...it is the only one that is likely to be almost entirely free from topical restraints arising from prior turns" (Levinson, 1983, p. 313). The bulk of the conversation that follows consists of topics that are "linked" to one another in a "natural" sequence. If the transitions between topics are unlinked, the sequence is said to be "marked." Levinson (1983, p. 313) refers to a remark by Sacks that the frequency of marked topic shifts is a measure of a "lousy" conversation.

Closing section. When a speaker is ready to bring the conversation to a close s/he will use a **pre-closing** item, such as "O.K." or "All right." A pre-closing item is a topic-less turn and indicates that the speaker has no more to say. If the other speaker also has no more to say and offers a pre-closing item in return, then a "mutual agreement" to talk no more is reached by the two parties (Levinson, 1983, p. 317).

An optional slot (termed 'typing') for things like giving thanks or summarizing the call follows. This slot is followed by more pre-closing items before the final exchange of **terminal elements** (e.g. "Goodbye" or "See you later"). According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), other components such as "O.K." or "Thank you" may be used as components of terminal exchanges in some cases. However, since these items "are used in other ways as well, the mere fact of their use does not mark them as unequivocal parts of terminal exchanges" (p. 299).

We may note here that while most of Schegloff's data come from telephone conversations, he does not believe that "telephone talk" is necessarily a specific entity. He writes, "The talk people do on the telephone is not fundamentally different from the other talk they do" (1979, p. 25). In face-to-face conversation for example, exchanges such as "See you" — "O.K." or "Thank you" — "You're welcome" may be the final utterances, especially of the interlocutors are physically moving apart. Likewise, such exchanges can terminate telephone conversations.

A complete closing section could sound like this:

A. Tomorrow at 4, then. ← closing topic
B. Uh-huh. Mm. O.K. ← pre-closings
A. O.K.
B. Thanks for calling. ← typing
A. O.K. ← pre-closings
B. All right.
A. Bye. ← terminal elements
B. Bye bye.

A closing section may also be rather short. Schegloff (1973) notes that "once properly initiated, a closing section may contain nothing but a terminal exchange and accomplish a proper closing thereby," e.g.:

A. O.K.
B. O.K.
A. Bye bye
B. Bye (p. 317)

Not all personal phone calls follow Schegloff's framework for the closing section precisely; it only works well for some. For example, pre-closings are not always essential. We can see that if a call is obviously a one-topic call, the two parties may not need to signal that they are ready to close the conversation.

Clark and French's Framework for Closing Sections

A different framework for closings is that of Clark and French (1981). Their model can mainly be used with what they call "routine inquiries." In their article "Telephone Goodbyes," Clark and French (1981, p. 3) analyze conversations between telephone operators (male and female) and people who call to ask for phone numbers. Therefore, their data for routine inquiries represent a very specific situation and may not necessarily represent all business calls. Clark and French find three parts in the closing section of a call:

1. topic termination
2. leaving-taking (OPTIONAL)
3. contact termination

Topic termination is the term Clark and French use for what Schegloff calls pre-closings (e.g. "O.K.," "All right," etc.) or exchanges like "thank you" — "You're welcome." *Contact termination* represents the actual hanging up of the phone. This leaves only the leaving-taking component, and since that is optional in Clarke and French's mode, a call may end with topic terminations. Examples are:

a. (boss on intercom to secretary — continuation call)
A. O.K.?
B. O.K.
(click)[1]

b. (person to operator — routine inquiry)
   A. Thank you.
   B. You're welcome.
   (click)

It is easy to see why a "goodbye" is not obligatory as a terminal exchange in these situations. Leave-taking is normally used in the U.S. when some sort of rapport (no matter how small) exists between the interlocutors. Adato (1975) writes that leave-taking "terminates the sense of occasioned presence and 'being together'" and "presupposes a 'personal relationship' between departing members to the occasion" (p. 255). Leaving-taking is normal in personal phone calls because "...people generally need to reassure each other that the break in social contact is only temporary" (Clark and French, 1981, p. 4).

Like Adato (1975), Clark and French find that as the personal contact between the caller and the operator increases, so does the probability that leave-taking will occur. When leaving-taking does occur, both Schegloff & Sacks (1973) and Clark & French allow that the closing section may also include such things as justification for ending contact (e.g. I'm late. I gotta go"), making arrangements, summarizing the reason for the conversation, wishing each other well, etc., in addition to actually saying goodbye. But in routine inquiries, the non-occurrence of leave-taking is looked upon as normal since the interlocutors really amount to no more than what Adato (1975) calls "an object of action" to each other. People who fit this category are clerks, bus drivers, operators, customers, etc. Adato goes on to say that the absence of leave-taking in these cases is "1) a statistically normal event and, more importantly, 2) a morally normal one..." (p. 259).

In their research Clark and French (p. 18) found that an actual "goodbye" is offered about 39% of the time by people who call an operator to ask for information. In light of Adato's claim, this is not surprising. Furthermore, the percentage increases under certain conditions. Understandably, if the operator makes a special effort to help the caller, the percentage increases. In fact, if the operator makes an error and then apologizes, the percentage also increases. Perhaps, suggest Clark and French, this is because the operator is seen to have a "human" side (and is therefore no longer merely an "object")—and that this metamorphosis allows a minimal acquaintanceship to develop, which leads to a "goodbye."

THE STUDY

To determine the extent to which telephone conversations found in television dramas could be considered authentic and useful in teaching non-native speakers to use the telephone successfully in the U.S., we compared a number of such dramatized calls with the descriptions of real-life telephone calls as provided by Schegloff and by Clark and French.

Data-Gathering

The data consisted of twenty-eight complete and twenty-six partial telephone conversations that were obtained from roughly twenty hours of videotaping daytime dramas (soap operas), aired between May 4th and May 11th, 1992. These programs were *Days of Our Lives, One Life to Live, General Hospital, Guiding Light, As the World Turns, All my*

Children, and *The Young and the Restless*. The decision to videotape phone calls from soap operas was influenced by the fact that one hour of videotape would yield between two and three phone calls. Obtaining the same number of calls through random videotaping of television programs might take ten times as long. Since the acting in soap operas tends to convince millions of fans, the various situations can be assumed to represent reality to at least some degree. The question to be answered is to what extent the telephone calls in these situations conform to the real life calls found in the various studies that have been done.

Only a few of the fifty-four videotaped telephone calls consisted of a complete conversation (i.e. opening section, various topics, closing section). Therefore, the analysis in terms of each part of Schegloff's framework was done on whatever data were available.

Results and Analysis

Summons-Answer Sequence. Of the fifty-four calls, thirty-four contained **opening sections**. Among these, the characteristics of an SA sequence were present in all but one interaction. "Conditional relevance" was met in all cases. That is, all of the ringing telephones were answered, and all of the answerers spoke first. Furthermore, the "nonterminality property" characterized all calls except call #35 in which the summoner did not talk again after the initial SA sequence. For this reason, it was considered deviant:

A. Hello?
(silence)
B. → hangs up

Of the thirty-four calls with SA sequences, thirty-one occurred in homes, while three occurred in offices. The "answer" part of the SA sequence varied as follows:

HOME (31)			OFFICE (3)	
"Hello"	24	(77.5%)	Business' name	2
"X Residence"	4	(13.0%)		
Person's name	2	(6.5%)		
"Brian?"	1	(3.0%)	"Yes, Carol"	1

The variations of "Hello" were: "Hello?," "Yeah, hello," and "Nyello." Two of the four people who answered with "X Residence" were butlers. The person who answered with "Brian?" was obviously expecting him to call. The person who answered with "Yes, Carol" was a boss who knew her secretary was calling from the outer office.[2]

Caller's first turn to speak. Thirty-nine of the fifty-four phone calls had an audible "turn 2" slot. Sixteen of these contained only one component; the other twenty-three contained combinations of two or more. For example, if the speaker's first turn consists of "Hello, Pat. It's Sharon," we can say that it has three distinct types of components (greeting, address term, and self-identification). Table 1 shows the frequency with which the nine components Schegloff found in the speaker's first turn in his data show up in that position in the telephone calls in the soap operas.

Table 1: Video Data — Speaker's first turn (all items used)

1.	greeting term — Hello.	16/39 calls	(41%)
2.	address term (quasi-interrogative) — Irene?	7/39 calls	(18%)
3.	address term (assertive) — Phil!	15/39 calls	(38%)
4.	question or noticing answerer's state — Oh, you're home.	0/39 calls	(0%)
5.	first topic — Hi, 'r my kids there?	8/39 calls	(20%)
6.	request to speak to another — May I speak to Bonnie?	6/39 calls	(15%)
7.	self-identification — Hello. This is Bill.	21/39 calls	(54%)
8.	question regarding identity — Hi, is this Kitty?	9/39 calls	(5%)
9.	joke or miscommunication — Ho ho ho. Merry Christmas.	3/39 calls	(8%)

More than half of the turn 2 components in this data contained more than one item, and only one of the turn 2 components consisted of a one-syllable word with nothing more. This shows us that although Schegloff considers as normal SA sequences in which the caller offers a one-syllable voice sample by which s/he may be identified, such sequences did not exist in the calls analyzed in this study.

The relative frequency of these various possible components changes if we count only those that are the first item in each of the thirty-nine examples. Table 2 presents these data.

Table 2: Video Data — Speaker's first turn (first item used)

1.	greeting term	13/39	calls	(33%)
2.	address term (quasi-interrogative)	6/39	calls	(15%)
3.	address term (assertive)	10/39	calls	(26%)
4.	question or noticing answerer's state	0/39	calls	(0%)
5.	first topic	0/39	calls	(0%)
6.	request to speak to another	6/39	calls	(15%)
7.	self-identification	1/39	calls	(2%)
8.	question regarding identity	2/39	calls	(5%)
9.	joke or miscommunication	3/39	calls	(8%)

Visual inspection of the data in these two tables reveals that, although the callers in these television dramas are likely to identify themselves 54% of the time in their first speaking turn, this identification is the first component in that turn only once. In all other cases, this self-identification comes after other items.

It is tempting to try to discern a "primary" item when the turn consists of more than one item, but it would be impossible to speculate what the scriptwriter had in mind when writing the line of dialogue. In reality, a one-item turn 2 utterance may serve more than one function. For example, if a caller says "Sally?" this may be taken to be an address term to show that the caller does recognize the answerer (at least tentatively) and, at the same time, it provides a voice sample by which the speaker him-/herself can be identified and of course, it asks for confirmation of the tentative identification. As we noted, Schegloff says that the identification of the answerer can follow any of several formats. In the data from the soap operas, we find the following, all of which are found in Schegloff's description.

Recognition of the answerer.

a. In 8 of the 39 samples (20%),
  recognition was not necessary.
  (e.g., "Hi, this is Bo Brady in Room 756...")

b. In 2 of the 39 samples (5%),
  the intended addressee was not recognized as the answerer. Therefore, the caller requested to speak to the addressee.
  (e.g., "Yes, is Mr. Simon there?")

c. In 2 of the 39 samples (5%),
  non-recognition prompted the caller to check the identity of the answerer.
  (e.g., "Is this Mercy Hospital?")

d. In 27 of the 39 samples (69%),
  recognition of the answerer was apparent through the use of an address term. Recognition was achieved through the voice sample, "Hello."
  (e.g., "Larry. It's Trevor.")

Recognition of the caller.

a. Over half (54%) of the calls with an SA component contained some sort of self-identification by the caller, on his/her first turn.
(e.g. "It's me," "This is Dr. Goddard," etc.)
In these cases, the answerer did not have to guess the caller's identity.

b. Recognition due to the voice sample was attained in 21% of these calls.

e.g.,
A. Hello.
B. Hello, Essa. Is this a bad time?
A. Blair, honey, for you it's never a bad time.

Lexical clues aided several voice quality recognitions. In these examples,

A. Hello.
B. Hello, dear.
A. Oh, Joe!

and A. Hello.
B. Uncle Palmer?
A. Dixie?

the words "Dear" and "Uncle" limit the possible interlocutors.

c. In 11% of the calls, recognition of the caller was not necessary because it was a business call or that the caller immediately asked to speak to an addressee.

e.g., A. Hello.
B. Dr. Miller, please. (a new patient)
A. You got 'im.

d. In 11% of the calls, recognition of the caller did not occur, initiating some sort of "repair."

e.g., A. Hello.
B. Mike?
A. Yeah. (no recognition)
→ B. Uh, this is John Smith.
A. Yeah, John...

In this example, the caller may have hoped for recognition on his first turn, but it is more likely that he planned to hear "Yes" or "yeah" and then self-identify, since he offered his complete name (Schegloff, 1979, p. 54). It was apparent from this relatively formal identification that the interlocutors were only acquaintances.

In a second example,

A. Hello.
B. Happy birthday to you, happy birthday to you...
A. Who IS this?
B. Oh, no..has it been so long?!
A. Gail??!!

we see that even after being asked to self-identify, the caller chooses to give a long voice sample in hopes of being recognized. The caller receives the so-called "big hello" as a consolation for not being immediately recognized.

One deviant case of recognition occurs in call #26. Here, the answerer does not want another person in the room to know who has called, so she pretends to recognize a "Mary Louise" instead of "Rick."

(#26) A. Hello?
B. Holly, it's Rick.
A. Mary Louise? What a nice surprise.
B. Holly, is somebody there?
A. Absolutely.

First topic. The "first topic" is introduced in eight of the thirty-nine recorded conversations as a component of the caller's first turn. These first topics are never the first thing said, however. They follow one, two, or three other items. For example, in the sequence, "Marlena, hi. It's Isabella. I don't want to worry you, but...," we have an address term + greeting term + self-identification and then the first topic. In the rest of the calls, the first topic was introduced after the opening section was complete, and always by the caller. Another interesting thing that we find is that, in either case, the language used typically included one of the following:

performatives—
"I called to apologize for.."
"I'm just calling to see..."

directives—
"Go over to the Hospital..."
"Holly, you have to come here."

reporting recent news—
"I found Gloria in her car..."
"I just followed a guy..."

asking for recent news—
"Have you found out anything else..."
"Do you have any more news for me?"

reporting an emergency—
"Listen, Dixie is gone!"
"Look, something has happened..."

Most of the calls were fairly short. A detailed analysis of the central part of the phone calls will not be reported because the vast majority of the calls dealt with only the one topic initially introduced. And so we move to the closing down of the conversation—the next aspect of these calls that is of major importance from an ESL perspective.

Closing sections. Forty-five of the fifty-four calls included closing sections. Thirty-two of the calls with closing sections were considered personal calls (between family, friends, acquaintances, etc.) and therefore **pre-closing** items would be normal and expected. In fact, only twenty-one of these thirty-two calls (66%) included pre-closings. In those where pre-closings were used, the preferred strategy was "O.K." The range of pre-closings, along with the number of uses, is as follows:

Table 3: Video Data — Pre-Closings Used

1.	O.K.	(16)
2.	All right.	(12)
3.	Yeah.	(6)
4.	Well.	(3)
5.	Fine.	(2)

6.	Terrific.	(1)
7.	Hmm-mm	(1)
8.	Oh.	(1)
9.	Um.	(1)

Terminal elements. Schegloff's model assumes a final exchange of items (for the most part, some sort of "goodbye") in a personal phone conversation. Levinson (1983, p. 317) states that these items are crucial in closing down the conversation. Clark and French's data allow that calls ending in "Thank you" and the like (e.g. for routine inquiries) do NOT necessarily include further "goodbyes" as a terminal exchange. In light of these guidelines, the data may be classified as follows:

"expected" element
Number of calls in which a terminal element is expected = 32
Number of **these** calls in which a terminal element occurs = 17 (53%)

Here, "expected" means that the call, if a terminal exchange were included, would have a sense of "completeness" (i.e. both parties would be satisfied that the conversation was over). A failure to employ a terminal element, on the other hand, leaves the conversation incomplete and its absence may leave the other interlocutor wondering what went wrong. These calls were between family, friends, or acquaintances.

"unexpected" element
Number of calls in which a terminal element is not expected = 13
Number of **these** calls in which a terminal element occurs = 3 (23%)

Here "unexpected" means that the call is in a business setting or between rivals, or that a message was given and the interlocutors exchanged a "Thanks" — "You're welcome" to end the conversation.

The low percentage of "goodbyes" (53%) in calls between family, friends, and acquaintances is surprising. The final utterances in the calls without a "goodbye" or other satisfactory terminal exchange indicated to a degree why the "goodbye" is omitted. Three examples of such reasons are

anger — In call #8, two family members are arguing when one suddenly hangs up on the other.

haste — In call #46, a wife who was desperately trying to locate her husband ends the conversation by telling one of his co-workers, "I'm not staying put, Abe," and then dashes out of the house.

getting in the last word — Several callers were rude by ending with utterances such as "Make it faster than that" (#23) and "You get me that info" (#28) and hanging up immediately. In this way, they did not give the other party a chance to respond.

All of the calls indicated finality in some way. None of the calls blatantly ended in the middle of a topic or by one interlocutor suddenly being silent. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) point out that one cannot merely "stop talking" to end a conversation because "to do so would be hearable as 'being silent'," (p. 295) and the other party would try to find out the reason for the silence.

The three calls that included a terminal element when one was not expected were somewhat strange and can be attributed to the relationship between the interlocutors. In two of them, the speakers were rivals who would not normally give each other the time of day, let along engage in some sort of friendly leave-taking. Their "goodbyes" were cold and forced; just a formality. In another, the caller is a mentally ill killer who was impersonating one of her rivals on the phone. Her "goodbye," therefore, was not sincere.

The terminal elements ("goodbye" for the most part) that were uttered in the friendly personal calls did seem very natural. The lexical variations of all the "goodbyes" were:

"Bye"	(9)	47%
"Bye bye"	(5)	26%
"Goodbye"	(5)	26%

Discussion

From the results just described, we can see that there are some similarities and some differences between the structure of the soap opera telephone conversations and the models proposed by Schegloff and by Clark and French.

Opening section. As far as the opening section is concerned, the Summons-Answer sequence was completed in all of the conversations. That is, all of the calls were answered and the answerer spoke first. The nonterminality property described by Schegloff was followed except in one case (when the caller hung up after hearing "hello").

In the turn 2 slot (the speaker's first chance to speak), Schegloff's range of possibilities was fairly well represented by the video phone calls. The differences came in the frequency of each type. Schegloff (1979) feels that if self-identification occurs (instead of recognition), it can come in the turn 2 component, but usually comes on the speaker's following turn (p. 48). The data show that self-identification, when used, came in 54% of the caller's first turn, and in only 8% of the following turns. Therefore, the video data does not match Schegloff's structural description in this respect.

Also virtually absent from the data were examples of what Schegloff (1979, p. 35) considers to be a typical opening, namely:

(ring)
A. Hello?
B. Hi.
A. Hi.

The closest example to be found in the data is call #39, which is really not close at all.

(ring)
A. Brian?
B. Hey.

The answerer uses a one-syllable word on her first turn, but it is an address term instead of a simple greeting term. The caller acknowledges with a "Hey" instead of a "Hi" or "Hello." Thus, in this example, the interlocutors accomplish in two turns what normally takes three turns. These differences between the video data and Schegloff's description illustrate the type of deviance that an ESL teacher must be prepared to recognize.

The **first topic** slot of the video phone calls matches the framework in some respects. For example, they were always introduced by the caller and they did come at the beginning of the calls. In real-life conversations, however, the first topic may be deferred a few turns due to exchanges such as "How's everything?" — "Pretty good. How 'bout you?" — "Just fine. Listen, I'm calling because..." (Levinson, 1983, p. 312). In the video phone calls, no such chitchat was used before the first topic was introduced. We may venture to say that the scriptwriters prefer to get to the point in phone calls, perhaps to keep the story line moving and thus, keep the audience interested. But if so, these concerns lead them to create somewhat deviant telephone conversations in this respect.

The only other noticeable deviation in relation to the first topic is that the topics themselves were so dramatic. ESL learners viewing a series of videotaped phone conversations might get the feeling that Americans use their telephones only to report emergencies or ask for life-saving information.

In the **closing sections,** both Schegloff and Sack's and Clark and French's frames allow for exchanges of "O.K.s" or "All rights" as pre-closings to signal that the conversation is practically over. Only 68% of the videotaped calls included at least one of these markers.

Finally, we have noted that the soap opera examples contained terminal exchanges in only 53% of the cases where one would be expected. This relatively infrequent use of terminal exchanges is the most outstanding difference between the data and what Schegloff's research shows.[3] Since Schegloff indicates some sort of terminal element to be necessary, the video phone calls are misleading when taken as models for the ESL classroom, though they may serve some dramatic purpose within the show itself.

In summary, the deviations of scripted telephone encounters from natural, unrehearsed encounters (as described in the literature) come mainly in the areas of **identification, first topic,** and **terminal exchange.** Schegloff believes that American callers count on their voices being recognized by the answerers and tend to self-identify only if necessary. Over half of the video callers self-identified in their first speaking turn.

Levinson (1983) notes that small talk at the beginning of a call may "...displace the reason for the call and its first topic slot to later in the call..." (pp. 315-316). The video calls did not contain any opening small talk that could be used as a model for this practice.

The use of terminal exchanges (e.g. "Goodbye") between friends, family members, etc. from the video data is very low (only 53%) when one considers that Schegloff's models expect them to take place.

These differences between the theoretical framework and the video scripts (along with the many similarities) must be taken into account when preparing to use videotaped phones calls as models for ESL students. In the following section, the selection of video material appropriate to the needs of ESL students is examined.

CLASSROOM USE OF VIDEO

The use of video in the ESL classroom is becoming more and more popular these days. It is relatively easy to acquire video material (either off-air or commercially packaged). When teaching the structure of English telephone conversations, the instructor should indicate to the students that the various type of calls (e.g. routine inquiries, business calls, personal calls) each have specific forms and functions which must be learned.

Finding materials to teach business calls is easy; there are abundant examples in textbooks. The authenticity of these examples may be judged by the criteria set by the various authors mentioned earlier in this paper. The typical ESL student in the U.S.A, however, will more likely need to make personal phone calls. Written materials for this purpose are harder to find and will frequently have to be developed by the teacher. When teachers do write their own examples, they should use the research available in the work of people like Schegloff, Clark, French, Levinson, and others. Audiotapes of actual phone calls or videotapes of television phone calls may also serve as models but, again, the authenticity of these examples should be checked against the research available.

Special concern must be taken in choosing video phone calls to use in the classroom. "Dramatic" calls that do not include pre-closings or terminal elements are not good models of typical phone calls. Quite a few Americans would be shocked to hear a foreign caller who is living in the U.S. utter something like "I'll come right now" and immediately hang up (without giving them a chance to respond). The various possible opening (SA) sequences may also fail to represent what those same elements would be like in normal day-to-day telephone conversations. On the basis of the video conversations studied here, we would expect non-native speakers using them as models to avoid opening with friendly chitchat and to get down to business immediately, thus presenting a rather cold and impersonal image over the telephone.

Typical Student Problems

Students in ESL classes often study "telephone talk" via their textbooks, audiotapes, or videotapes. Teachers even assign telephone homework (e.g. calling classmates, calling local businesses, calling the teacher, etc.). When it is their turn to role-play a telephone call in class, students frequently remember to use the standard "functions," e.g. "May I speak to John, please?" or "May I take a message?," but do not seem to be able to reproduce any natural sounding openings and not many natural closings.

Low-intermediate students in an Intensive English Program were audiotaped role-playing personal calls in early May, 1992. A few examples of the **openings** they used are these.

1. A. Hello.
B. Is Diane there?
— This is a friendly call, but B does not return the greeting on her first turn. She immediately uses a "switchboard" request.

2. (B calls, but incorrectly speaks first.)

B. Hello.
A. Hi. ←
B. May I speak with Sonatee, please?
A. Yes, it's me, Sonatee, speaking.
B. Hi, Sonatee, how are you?
A. Fine, how are you?
— The "hi" should indicate recognition to B, but he goes on to ask for Sonatee.

3. (B calls, but incorrectly speaks first.)

B. Is this 344-1411?
A. Oh, yes. Whom do you wish to speak to?
— This language is too formal for a personal call in the United States. Schegloff's framework does not include a "number checking" component.

The students seemed to be locked into the formulaic use of the language. Even though they all knew each other rather well, none of the students used the identification or recognition techniques outlined in Schegloff (1979).

A few examples of the CLOSINGS they used are:

1. A. O.K., is it all?
B. O.K., yes. Bye.
A. Bye.
B. Thank you.
— B "opens up" the conversation again after the terminal exchange of goodbyes, and A does not reply.

2. A. Thank you, see you.
B. Yeah.
A. See you next semester.
B. Yeah.
A. Bye.
B. ——
— B does not contribute much to this closing exchange and does not answer the terminal element.

In general, the students' closing sections included enough pre-closings (predominantly "O.K.s") and most of them exchanged terminal elements.

Possible Solutions

In order for students to use acceptable U.S. English when speaking on the telephone, instructors must concentrate more on all aspects of phone calls, and not only those functions that are associated with calls, such as "May I speak to..." or "May I take a message?"

As far as the opening section is concerned, instructors may point out that the greeting by the answerer is usually answered with some type of greeting by the caller, e.g.:

A. Hello.
(caller does not recognize the voice)
B. Hi, is Susie there, please?

or

A. Simpson's Business Supplies.
B. Yes, could you tell me...

Also, Schegloff's nine categories of turn 2 components may be explicitly taught (to be used alone or in combinations). If this is done, students may stop using the "May I speak to..." formula, which is the one they seem to feel the most comfortable with. Thus, their role plays may change if recognition of both the answerer and the caller is achieved:

A. Hello.
(caller recognizes the voice)
B. Hiroki.
(answer recognized the voice)
A. Hi, Carlos.

Schegloff and Sack's framework for closing a conversation may also be explicitly taught. Even though "O.K." seems to be the most used pre-closing (in the research, the video data, and the classroom data), students should be exposed to the range of possibilities. Upper level students may also be taught the other acceptable ways to indicate that a person wishes to terminate a phone call, namely "wishing each other well," "repeating the reason for the call," etc.

Students should be made aware of the fact that the terminal exchange of a phone call must give both parties the feeling that the call has been "completed." Schegloff and Sacks (1973) write that terminal exchanges use "pair formats" (p. 297). Therefore, if one interlocutor closes with a form of "goodbye," the other should reply in the same manner. If one interlocutor closes with a form of gratitude (e.g. "Thank you"), the other may respond with "You're welcome" and then wait a microsecond to hear if a "goodbye" is offered. If not, she may hang up, knowing that the call has been successfully completed.

If ESL students practice telephoning their classmates enough, they may begin to apply what they have learned in the classroom. If the instructor receives telephone calls from the students once in a while, s/he may note which parts of the telephone conversation structure need review. Prepared video tapes may be used as models if they include the segments (e.g. greetings exchanges, pre-closings, etc.) that the instructor wishes to highlight. If, however, the videotapes of calls do not accurately reflect real-life conversations, they have little value in the ESL classroom.

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NOTES

[1] Although this communication occurs in a business context, the secretary is clearly not merely an "object" in Adato's sense and the relationship between the two could permit the type of termination found in the personal context.

[2] Since almost all of the calls in the data may be considered personal calls, the specific properties of the few business calls have not been elaborated on in this paper.

[3] Clark and French's research states that there is no "goodbye" in about 61% of basic routine calls to operators. Even though Clark and French find that a sort of personal relationship between callers and operators may develop, this is not relevant here and will not be considered at this point.

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THE PRAGMATICS OF "NO!": SOME STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH AND ARABIC

Paul B. Stevens

This study examines the pragmatics of refusals among speakers of English and Arabic. It compares (a) the English-language refusal strategies of samples of native English speakers, both in the United States and Egypt; (b) the English-language refusal strategies of samples of Arab students of English, in the same two countries; and (c) the Arabic-language refusal strategies of a sample of Arabic speakers in Egypt.

Data were elicited through a discourse-completion task modeled after Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), designed to elicit various types of refusals, offers, and invitations.

Analysis focuses on strategies expected to lead to either pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic failure (Thomas, 1983) in the Arabic-speaking learners' refusals. By comparing native speaker strategies in the two languages with the strategies of the English learners, an attempt is made to determine whether pragmatically unsuccessful strategies appear to result from transfer from Arabic or whether they appear to have been acquired independent of Arabic patterns.

Several ideas for helping learners avoid pragmalinguistic failure and select strategies for refusing effectively and without giving offense are suggested.

INTRODUCTION

A number of recent studies have pointed to the need to describe cross-cultural differences in speech act behavior (House and Kasper, 1981; Thomas, 1983; Wierzbicka, 1985; El-Sayed, 1989; Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones, 1989; Stevens, 1991b). Particular attention has been given to such diverse speech acts as compliments (Holmes and Brown, 1987), backchannels (White, 1989), interpreting implicatures (Bouton, 1988), apologies (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983; Olshtain, 1989), and expressing gratitude (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986).

The cross-cultural pragmatics of refusals has been specifically addressed by Rubin (1983); Stevens (1988); and Beebe, Takahasi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990); while Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1991) has investigated rejections. Like many other communicative needs in one's second language, the ability to refuse requests or to decline offers and invitations is an important one for second language learners to acquire. However, in performing these acts, a speaker runs a great risk of appearing impolite or of threatening the "face" of his or her addressee. Hence, the learner needs to be able to say "No!" in a way that does not give offense.

The present study, therefore, proposes to examine the pragmatics of refusals among speakers of English and Arabic, with a view to helping Arab learners (and perhaps others) avoid refusal strategies that might potentially lead to pragmatic failure.

OBJECT OF THE STUDY

An earlier paper (Stevens, 1988) compared, the *English* -language refusal strategies of both (a) a sample of native English speakers in Egypt and (b) of a sample of Arabic-speaking learners of English, also in Egypt, and sought to explain features of the learners' production which resulted in pragmatic failure in their English refusals.

The paper at hand, in addition to the data collected in the earlier study, looks at (c) the *English* -language performance of a second sample of native English speakers, this time in the United States, (d) a second sample of Arabic-speaking learners of English, also in the United States, and finally (e) the *Arabic* performance of a group of native Arabic speakers in Egypt.

Research Questions

The current study seeks primarily to identify (a) some common English refusal strategies of native-English speakers, (b) English strategies of Arab learners of English, and (c) common Arabic refusal strategies of native-Arabic speakers. Secondarily it attempts to determine (d) whether learners' strategies found in the ELI data are explicable in terms of transfer from their Arabic strategies and (e) whether pragmatic failure, in particular, in the Arabic learners' English refusals is explicable by transfer from Arabic strategies.[1]

METHODOLOGY

Instrument

Data were obtained via a written discourse-completion task, designed to elicit various types of refusals. There were a total of 15 situations: 8 Requests and 7 Offers/Invitations (not all of which are reported here, due to lack of space). Respondents were to imagine themselves participating in the social situations described in the instrument. In each case, a situation was described, followed by an utterance of the respondents' imaginary interlocutor. Respondents were then asked to write down what they would reply in response.

Subjects

Five pools of subjects participated in the study as follows:

(1) a small sample of native English-speaking Faculty members at the American University in Cairo, the "AUC/Anglos" (N = 10).

(2) a group of native English-speaking faculty members and graduate students at the University of South Carolina, the "USC/Anglos" (N = 13).

(3) the "AUC/ELI" group (N = 30), consisting of undergraduate students in the English Language Institute at the American University in Cairo. All were native Arabic speakers, evenly divided between males and females, Egyptians and non-Egyptian Arabs, and graduates of English-language as opposed to Arabic-language secondary schools.

(4) Arab graduate students of several nationalities studying English at the University of South Carolina, the "USC/ELI" (N = 17).

(5) the "Arabic" group (N = 21), consisting of native Arabic-speaking undergraduates at AUC who were administered an Arabic version of the instrument. These subjects were distinct from the AUC/ELI group.

Procedure

Different administration procedures had to be followed for the different pools of subjects. In the case of the AUC/ELI group, the instrument was administered anonymously by the students' regular teacher during English class. Teachers were instructed not to provide help in strategies for answering the questions nor to allow students to consult with one another. As it was not possible to arrange a group administration for the other four subject pools, these groups filled out the instruments at home at their convenience. They were urged not to consult with anyone in writing their responses.[2]

For the "Arabic" group, Standard Arabic was used for providing directions in the instrument and for describing the situations. Subjects were not explicitly told to use Colloquial Arabic in their responses, but the cue utterances to which they were to react were written in Colloquial Arabic and this is the form of Arabic respondents most often used in their replies.

REQUESTS

Let us begin with strategies for refusing requests, then later turn our attention to strategies for declining offers and invitations.

Multiple Strategies

What is interesting about refusal strategies in the data is that there are in fact very few outright refusals in the responses of native-speaking subjects in either language. Instead, a combination of strategies is frequently found.

This tendency towards multiple strategies can be nicely illustrated by the LOCKSMITH SCENARIO, described to subjects as follows:

> You are cooking a big dinner for a group of friends who are to arrive at your place in about half an hour. A friend calls to tell you that a thief has stolen his wallet and keys in front of his house and your friend asks you to bring a locksmith right away. He says:
>
> "So that's what happened. Look, could you go get a locksmith?"

Now, consider (1), the response of an AUC/Anglo:

(1) (a) I'm really sorry, [an apology]
(b) but you've caught me at a terrible time. [explanation]
(c) Thirty guests are arriving in half an hour. [explanation]
(d) Please call Mac. [alternative]
I know he's home and
(e) could help you. [implication: I can't help]

Because of the multiple strategies, it is hard to determine here exactly which part of the response counts as the refusal, especially since there is no overt refusal and no part of it baldly says "No!". Nonetheless, a refusal is clearly understood through a combination of strategies, in this case: (i) the lack of explicit agreement to comply, (ii) the explanation of some problem making compliance difficult/impossible, (iii) the suggestion of an alternative, and (iv) the implication that S cannot help.

A similar use of multiple strategies to effect a refusal is found in (2):

(2) (a) I'd like to but, .../... [i.e. I am not going to]
(b) I'm waiting for some friends [explanation]
(c) You can call Ali. [alternative]

As was the case in (1), there is once again no overt refusal here. The fact that this utterance counts as a refusal seems to be partially due to the lack of explicit agreement to comply.

Explanations

Note that both responses (1) and (2) contain explanations for the Speaker's refusal. The use of some sort of explanation here is important for avoiding pragmatic failure. This is in contrast to responses in the ELI data such as (3) or (4), where no explanation is given, and which may be pragmatically unacceptable.

(3) Why don't you call the police? [AUC/ELI]
(4) Sorry, I won't be able to come. You can use the telephone. [AUC/ELI]

This need for an explanation may be partly due to the fact that, in making a request, the Speaker [S] assumes that the Addressee or Hearer [H] is capable of fulfilling what S has requested and may even be under some obligation to do so. Hence, in order for the Requestee to be relieved of the obligation to comply with the request, it is his or her responsibility to demonstrate to the Requestor that the request is not legitimate, since the assumptions have not all been met.

Now, it is important to note that these explanations do occur in Arabic, as in (5):

(5) *bass, ʔaṣl fiih naas ḍuyuuf gayya ɦalan. mumkin tikallim ʔaɦmad tuʔulluh, w-ana ɦagiilak ʔawwal ma n-naas tinzil*
'but, I've got guests coming any minute. You can call Ahmed and tell him, and I'll come over as soon as my guests leave.'

The fact that such explanations are indeed found in Arabic would appear to indicate that the lack of an explanation in some of the ELI data, along with any resulting pragmatic failure, is not the result of a transfer of some Arabic strategy. Rather, it may result from limitations in the subjects' English.

Non-committal Strategy

Another useful tactic for refusing is to opt for a non-committal strategy, an example of which occurs in responses to the Do MY PROJECT SCENARIO:

> You are working on a course project. A classmate, who is not very hardworking but who is a pleasant enough person, asks you for a favor and says:
>
> > ".../... Do you think you would be able to look up the materials I need for my project at the same time? I'd really appreciate it."

This particular request is a major imposition and, for many, it breaks a social norm. Among the options available to them, speakers of both languages can resort to a non-committal strategy in such a situation. In fact, about a quarter of USC/Anglos did so, and, in each case, it constituted a refusal, as in (6), below. (Note: Italics in English examples are added to draw attention to the strategy under discussion, not to indicate emphasis on the part of respondents.)

(6) Well, if I have time. But I really don't think I will. *You'd better not count on me* for that.

This non-committal strategy may likewise occur in Arabic:

(7) *rạbbina yisahhil, law ɛandi waʔt kifaaya ɦasaɛdak*
'We'll see what happens [lit: God makes it easy]; if I have time, I'll help you.'

Sarcastic and Aggressive Strategies

The DO MY PROJECT SCENARIO provoked sarcastic or aggressive responses on the part of several English speakers apparently because, as one "Anglo" explained, the request breaks such a strong social norm that no answer could be too strong or too rude.

(8) .../... Why would I want to do your research? Get off your ass! [AUC/Anglo]
(9) Could I have your grade too? [AUC/Anglo]
(10) No way! I don't have time to do YOUR research for you! [USC/Anglo]
(11) I'm sure you WOULD appreciate it. But I don't have time to do your work. [USC/Anglo]

In contrast, the Arabic speakers in the sample, with a single exception, used no sarcasm, in either their English or their Arabic responses.[3]

Do It Yourself

Yet another refusal strategy for this particular situation is to tell the Requestor to do his or her own work or that to do so may even be to the Requestor's benefit, as in (12) through (15):

(12) Sorry, but you'll have to do your own work. [USC/Anglo]
(13) I know you'd really appreciate it, but you wouldn't learn anything. You'll have to do it yourself. [USC/Anglo]
(14) Of course I would be able, but I want you to make it yourself as it would be more beneficial. [AUC/ELI]
(15) *tabɛaan mumkin, bass inta tistafaad ?aktar law int illi tidawwar ɛaleehum*. ["Arabic" group]
'Yes, I could, but you'd get more out of it if you looked for them yourself.'

As these examples show, this particular approach is attested in all the groups, including the English learners.

Limited Compliance

The KEEP THE DOG COMPANY SCENARIO elicited several different refusal strategies, one of them being to refuse by agreeing only partially to the request. The situation went as follows:

> You and your neighbor often take care of one another's apartment (watering plants, etc.) when one of you goes away for a few days. However, your neighbor has recently bought a dog which you cannot stand. The neighbor is about to go away for five days and asks you to take care of the plants as usual and then adds:
>
> ".../... Could you stay with the dog ... so that it doesn't get lonely? It's such a friendly dog!"

For dealing with this situation, the limited compliance approach was reported fairly extensively by both "Anglo" groups as well as the USC/ELI group (but not the AUC/ELI or "Arabic" groups). This strategy refers to agreement to fulfill part of the request but to refuse or imply refusal of the rest, which, in this particular instance, means agreement to take care of the plants, but not the dog. A typical example of limited compliance is illustrated in (16):

(16) "Well, I'll be glad to take care of the plants,
but .../..."

Usually, however, limited compliance was found along with some other strategies, as described in the next section.

Softeners

Where limited compliance occurred, it typically constituted only one of the refusal strategies. The actual refusal part of the response tended to be effected through use of some kind of softeners. Thus, a typical Anglo pattern was to combine a promise of limited compliance, such as (10), with a softener, as in (17), (18), and (19):

(17) .../... *Really* , I'm not into dogs, though. [AUC/Anglo]
(18) Dogs and I *really* do*n't get along* . [USC/Anglo]
(19) I don't know, I'm *not* a *great* animal lover. [USC/Anglo]

Notice, by the way, that through the use of softeners in (17) through (19), S avoids saying: "I *hate* dogs" or "I *hate your* dog," as was done by some of the AUC/ELI respondents.

In contrast, very few of these softeners were found in the AUC/ELI (only 10%) and none at all in the Arabic sample (vs. at least 40% to 56% among the Anglo groups) and that, in fact, this is an important difference in the refusal strategies of the two language groups. Since responses without the softeners might well be perceived as socially unacceptable, it would appear useful for learners to be taught these.

Hinting

Hinting at unwillingness or at other options. Another useful strategy, occurring more in the native English data than in Arabic, was (a) to hint that S would rather not comply with the request, as in (18) and (19); (b) to hint at some other option that H might try, as in (20); or (c) to combine these two strategies, as in (21):

(18) Dogs and I really don't get along. [USC/Anglo]
(19) .../... I'm not a great animal lover. [USC/Anglo]

(20) Do you think it's a good idea to leave Bozo at home? Maybe you should take the little darling with you. [AUC/Anglo]

(21) Perhaps your dog would be happier with someone who really likes animals. [USC/Anglo]

Note the interesting implicatures of (21), by which S can inform H that S does not like animals, maybe someone else does, therefore H should find someone else, and all of this would be to the dog's benefit. Yet, none of these points is explicitly stated.

Hinting at inability. Another way to signal a refusal is to hint at the existence of some reason why S cannot comply with the request, as in examples (22) and (23):

(22) Oh, I would like to, but I really don't think I can't [sic] manage with the dog. [AUC/ELI]

(23) ***ya reet kunt ʔaʔdar, bass*** .../... ["Arabic" group]
'I wish I could, but .../...'

The need for this type of hinting is closely akin to the need already discussed for providing explanations of why non-compliance is not possible, except that the reasons given may not be explicit.[4] The hinting strategy is common to both languages.

Frank explanation

The use of a frank or even aggressive explanation (i.e. one with no softeners) as a refusal strategy, though it did occur several times in the Anglo data, was rather restricted there and was even more restricted in the "Arabic" group and in the USC/ELI data. Perhaps frank explanations are avoided because they constitute such a threat to H's face. Some Anglo examples include:

(24) ../... the dog freaks me out.
(25) This is asking too much.
(26) You must be crazy. I'm not sitting with any dog.

Now, while it is true that the frank explanation strategy did occur in all groups, its use was greatest among the AUC/ELI subjects, where 52% reported it and responses like (27) through (29) were frequent:

(27) Oh, you know I hate dogs.
(28) I'm very sorry, I couldn't, because as you know, I hate it.
(29) No, I'm sorry, I hate this dog, but I'll take care of your plants.

Totally frank responses of the type "I *hate* dogs" appear to be socially unacceptable, while responses of the type "I *don't like* dogs" seem to be reacted to more favorably.[5] This is interesting because none of the "Arabic" group subjects report saying literally "I hate dogs" in Arabic. Rather, several claim that in Arabic they would say literally "I *don't like* dogs" (*ana mabaɦibb-ʃ ik-kilaab*). Apparently, then, their use of a pragmatically unsuccessful strategy is not due to transfer from Arabic. In fact, they would be pragmatically more successful if they did transfer a pattern from Arabic.

It appears that learners of English would benefit from being taught that, rather than using frank explanations, it would be pragmatically less offensive to use some of the strategies mentioned earlier, such as non-committal strategies or softeners.

Beg Forgiveness

A strategy that occurs fairly frequently (as much as 25%) in the ELIs in connection with refusals is that of begging forgiveness, as in (30):

(30) Forgive me if I make my brother take care of your dog. [AUC/ELI]

This appears tc be transfer of an Arabic strategy, since it is also found in the Arabic data, for example (31) and (32), but does not occur in the Anglo data at all.

(31) *winnabi ti ɛfiini mi-l-ɦitta-di maɛ il-kalb*
'Please excuse me from the part about the dog.'
(32) .../... *laakin il-kalb ʔuɛzurni* .../...
'.../... but as for the dog, forgive me'

If used by a learner of English, begging forgiveness may sound a little unusual, but should not result in giving offense.

OFFERS AND INVITATIONS

Let us turn our attention now to ways for declining offers and invitations. Various strategies were reported by respondents.

Accept the Offer

One of the situations which subjects were asked to respond to was the DINNER DISH SCENARIO. Paradoxically, a common strategy for refusal was to accept the offer, but only a little. The situation was as follows:

> A dear friend of yours is giving a dinner in your honor and has gone to a lot of trouble to prepare a special dish which she thinks you will enjoy. The very thought of eating it is disgusting to you. As your friend starts to put some of the food on your plate, you say: .../...

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Responses to this scenario are interesting because, in spite of the cost to oneself, the native speakers of either language tended to report accepting the offer (over 75% of "Anglo" and "Arabic" responses). This stood in contrast to the performance of the non-natives in the two ELIs, who were quite a bit more likely (54%) to decline.[6]

Accept a little. Rather than accepting the offer of food outright, most subjects indicated that they would accept just a little, a strategy which, in effect, amounts to a partial refusal. In fact, nearly two-thirds of native speakers (in either language) opted for this sub-strategy. Examples (33) through (38) show how the accept-just-a-little strategy may or may not combine with other strategies. These include complimenting the food or cook, expressing one's gratitude for the host's or hostess's efforts, or a white lie, especially a medical white lie.

(33) I appreciate all the work you've done. But I'm really not very hungry. So please just give me a small helping. [USC/Anglo]

(34) This looks delicious, but I can't take too much because I've been having stomach problems today. [AUC/Anglo]

(35) Looks and smells great. But I only want a little. I'm trying to cut back. [AUC/Anglo]

(36) *kifaaya kida, ana miʃ ɦaʔdar ʔaakul kull da*
'That's enough; I won't be able to eat all that.'

(37) *muʃakkir giddan, il-kammiyya-di kifaaya giddan*
'Thanks very much, that's quite enough.'

(38) *mutSakkir ?awi, ana Iaxud Iaaga xafiifa, EalaSaan Eaamil rijiim, EalaSaan taElimaat id-duktoor .*
'Thanks very much; I'll have something light, because I'm dieting, on doctor's orders.'

Pragmatic problems

Pragmatic failure. In the native speakers' data for both languages, there was nothing that looked unusual pragmatically. However, in the two ELI groups, a full third third of the responses were pragmatically problematical in some way. Examples include (39) and (40):

(39) Please, no more, because I don't like much this kind of food. [USC/ELI]

Sentence (39) is sociopragmatically inappropriate, since it may unintentionally offend the host or hostess. Example (40) sounds insincere:

(40) I think I forgot to tell you *I'm fasting* today. [USC/ELI]

Since it is rather implausible to allow oneself to be invited to a dinner in one's honor knowing that one will be fasting, (40) would presumably lead to pragmatic failure.

Neither (39) nor (40) appear to be explicable in terms of transfer from Arabic, since neither exemplifies a typical Arabic strategy.

Avoidance. It is interesting that in the DINNER DISH SCENARIO, there is a high rate of avoidance in both ELIs, especially the USC group (33%). That is, respondents left the item blank. The high avoidance rate in the USC/ELI group (living in the USA) may indicate that they recognize the importance of the problem but do not know how to deal with it. They need to learn this.

Chiding as Refusal

The PAYING AT THE MOVIE SCENARIO brings out an important cross-cultural difference, namely that in Arab society it is often not normal to go "Dutch treat" and, in fact, may even be considered in poor taste to attempt to do so. The scenario is as follows:

> You have gone with a friend to see a film. To make things easier, you have paid for both of you. Your friend now wants to pay his/her half of the cost and is handing you the money, saying:
> "Here's my share!"

Probably because of the contrasting attitudes towards going Dutch treat in the two cultures, there is an important difference in the refusal strategies of the two Anglo groups on the one hand and the three Arab groups on the other. Respondents in all three Arab groups (the two ELIs and the "Arabic" sample) give answers making reference to being angry or reprimanding, challenging, or chiding H, as in items (41) through (50):

(41) Are you joke [sic]? I'll be angry if you do it again. [AUC/ELI]
(42) Don't make me mad; keep your money with you. [AUC/ELI]
(43) Come on, hide your money and don't be silly. I invited you and don't let me down. [AUC/ELI]
(44) Oh, don't do like this again; I have invited you. [AUC/ELI]
(45) You dummy! You are American, aren't you? [USC/ELI]
(46) All right. You can pay my share too. [USC/ELI]

While *none* of the English speakers report using this strategy, the Arabic data, in contrast, includes various examples of references to getting angry or chiding or reprimanding one's interlocutor. Examples include:

(47) *da ?ismu kalaam ; Ɛeeb Ɛaleeki!*
'Is that any way to talk? Shame on you!'

(48) *Ɛeeb inti kida bitiʃtemni*
'Shame! You're insulting me!'
(49) *ya siidi, ma been il-xayyiriin ħisaab* !
'Come on, man! Gracious people don't keep accounts!'
(50) *Ɛeeb , yaa raagil* !
'Hey, man! Shame on you!'

Example (50) even occurred several times.

It seems clear that the occurrence of these chiding, reprimanding strategies in the ELI data results from a transfer of Arabic patterns.

Next time

The strategy of refusing an offer by showing anger or reprimanding one's interlocutor could be construed as offensive if said to English speakers. A safer, more effective tactic that students of English might learn is the next-time strategy. This was, in fact, the preferred strategy in the Anglo groups. Examples include:

(51) Put it away! You pay next time. [AUC/Anglos]
(52) Next time! [AUC/Anglos]
(53) Don't worry about it. You can pay my way the next time. [USC/Anglos]

A similar strategy exists in Arabic, as in:

(54) *yaa raagil, ma fiiʃ takaaliif binna, tib?a Ɛaleek il-marra ig-gayya*
'Hey, there are no bills between us; you can get it next time.'

The ELI data includes similar examples:

(55) Keep it for next time. [USC/ELI]
(56) That's all right. You can pay my share next time. [USC/ELI]

Since the English and Arabic patterns coincide here, it may be the case that the ELI students' use of such structures involves successful transfer into English of native language strategies.

It's My Treat

Another tactic for turning down offers of this kind and which, like the previous one, is less offensive than showing anger, is to refuse by saying something along the lines of "It's my treat!", as in (57) through (62):

(57) No, this was my treat. You can take me next time. [USC/Anglo]

(58) No, no. I've already gotten it. No problem! My treat! [USC/Anglo]
(59) Let me get it this time. Next time is yours. [AUC/Anglo]
(60) *laa?, ţabɛaan ana ɛazmak*
'No, I'm inviting you., of course' 'No, it's my treat, of course.'
(61) *la la la; ɛaleeya ana il-marra-di*
'No, no, no! It's on me this time.'
(62) *laa?, xalaaş, di ɛazuuma*
'No, forget it, this is my treat.'

The occurrence of this strategy in ELI data may or may not involve transfer from Arabic, but since this is a strategy that occurs in both languages, it is one that learners could usefully draw on in acquiring English.

Explanations (Revisited)

The use of an Explanation strategy, which we saw earlier in connection with refusing requests, also plays a role for declining offers and invitations. Consider how it works in the INVITATION TO CLUB SCENARIO.

> You are invited by a classmate or colleague at work to go with him/her to the club, where you will meet a third person whom you do not like at all, to spend the afternoon. Your friend says:
> "How would you like to go with me to the club this afternoon? I'm going to meet So-and-So there to go swimming and then we'll have something to eat. It will be a lot of fun."

White lie as excuse. By far, the most common strategy for all the groups (70%-91%) is to give some kind of excuse, which may or may not be vague, and which really amounts to a white lie. Items (63) to (66) are examples of native speaker data from each of the languages:

(63) I don't have time this afternoon.
(64) I have plans for this afternoon.
(65) *maΣliʃʃ, miʃ ɦa?dir ?aagi, Σalaʃaan ɦaruuɦ ?azuur ?uxti*
'Sorry, I can't come, because I'm going to visit my sister.'
(66) *laa, maΣliʃʃ, balaaʃ in-naharda Σaʃaan miʃ faaḑi*
'No, sorry, not today because I'm not free.'

This use of a white lie fulfills the need for an explanation, as described earlier, even though it is not a true explanation. Both language groups make use of this strategy.

Honest explanation. As a rule, perhaps because of the potential for giving offense to a friend, giving an honest explanation in this kind of situation was strongly disfavored in the native language data for both English and Arabic. However, in the ELI data, especially in the AUC/ELI, examples of honest explanations were much higher (24% of refusals) than in the other groups. Thus, many of the ELI respondents chose a pragmatically undesirable strategy as in (67) and (68):

(67) No, I like you but I *hate* your friend.
(68) Well, I'll be busy this afternoon; however, I *wouldn't have gone* with this man; I *hate* him.

While it is true that frank explanations of this type did occur in the Arabic data, as in (69), they were quite limited in number (only 9%) and therefore do not appear to be a likely source of the occurrence of this strategy in the ELI data.

(69) *laa, yaa sitti, fulaana-di dammahaa ti?iil εala ?albi, wi kamaan ana miʃ faḍya*
'No way! So-and-So gets on my nerves, and besides, I'm not free.'

Indirect Strategies. Most English speakers (as well as the Arabic-language respondents) who did opt for the honest explanation strategy did so in a much more indirect fashion, as in (70) or (71):

(70) *Thanks* for asking me, but I *really don't like* So-and-So.
(71) I'll go with you *another time* when *you're going alone* .

Notice once again the use of Multiple strategies. Sentence (70) includes a mark of gratitude, while at the same time it softens "I *hate* him" into "I *really don't like* him". Item (71) reaffirms solidarity through reference to "another time ", and at the same time, by saying "when *you're going alone* ", only hints, indirectly, at not wanting to be with the other person.

Hinting at inability. As was seen earlier in connection with requests, another useful refusal strategy in a situation like this one is to hint at one's inability to accept the invitation, while ostensibly expressing desire to do so.

(72) I wish I could. [Anglo]
(73) That would be nice. [Anglo]
(74) *yaa reet, bass .../...*
'I wish I could, but .../...'

Notice how this strategy serves as a sort of forewarner, while at the same time it re-affirms solidarity, and hence reduces the impact of the refusal which is to follow.

This particular strategy was fairly common among Anglos (52%), less so in the two ELIs (29%), and only marginal in the Arabic group (5%). Note that, at least for the samples studied, this strategy was reported more in the learners' L-2 than in their native language. Perhaps the strategy is being acquired in the learners' English in spite of its relative rarity in Arabic.

Some other time

Yet another way to turn down this type of invitation is to make reference to some indefinite plans for future ("Some other time!") when one will be able to accept the offer or invitation. Note how this strategy also hints at, or even explicitly states, one's inability to accept the offer at the present time. By referring to getting together in the future, it also serves to re-affirm solidarity. Examples include (75) and (76).

(75) Oh, I'm sorry, but I've already made plans for this afternoon. But I'll take a raincheck for another time. [USC/Anglo]
(76) *laaʔ, ma-ʔdarʃ in-naharda, xaliihaa bukra*
'No, I can't today, leave it for tomorrow.'

Since this was a very common strategy among the English-speaking subjects (67%) but only marginal in the Arabic group (9%), Arabic learners may benefit from being taught this pattern.

Like the hinting at inability strategy discussed above, the some other time strategy is reported more in the ELI groups (27%) than in the native Arabic group. Since the pattern is so rare in the Arabic sample, the fact that these learners are apparently acquiring it in English does not seem to be a result of transfer of native language patterns.

SUMMARY OF REFUSAL STRATEGIES

A look at the strategy chart (see next page) gives an indication of the relative importance of the various strategies under discussion here and may provide some clues about refusal strategies transferred into English by Arab learners. Let us examine several particularly interesting ones here.

With respect to the *Explanation* strategy used in the LOCKSMITH SCENARIO, note that, although this strategy is used by all groups, it is much lower in the AUC/ELI (50%) than in the Arab group at the same institution (88%). This may be an indication that, even though this particular strategy is available in Arabic, it is not transferred to the L-2 and that learners have not acquired sufficient English to utilize that strategy in their L-2 in an Egyptian setting. It is not inconceivable that this ELI group's failure to transfer this particular native-language strategy to the L-2 could lead to pragmatic failure in communication with native English speakers. However, for whatever reason, behavior of the USC/ELI (69%) is very close here to that of the USC/Anglos (73%).

As for the use of *Sarcasm* in the DO MY PROJECT SCENARIO, it should be noted that this strategy is practically non-existent

STRATEGY CHART:
PERCENTAGE OF ATTEMPTED REFUSALS,
USES OF PARTICULAR STRATEGIES

Note: "R" refers to the percentage of the sample reporting a refusal of some sort. Figures below the lines indicate percentages of particular strategies employed by those reporting a refusal.

SCENARIO and STRATEGY:	AUC/ Anglos	USC/ Anglos	AUC/ ELI	USC/ ELI	Arab group
Locksmith R=	100%	88%	80%	76%	79%
Explanation	100	73	50	69	88
Do my project R=	100%	77%	80%	44%	38%
Non-committal	0	23	25	22	14
Sarcastic	30	23	0	0	3
Do it yourself	30	23	13	17	59
Mind the Dog R=	100%	77%	77%	100%	95%
Comply partially	55	40	22	47	20
Softeners	78	40	10	23	0
Hinting	yes*	yes*	yes*	yes*	yes*
Explain frankly	22	30	52	12	15
Beg forgiveness	0	0	22	6	25
Dinner dish R=	20%	23%	60%	33%	14%
Accept outright	80	77	30	0	76
Accept a little	70	54	27	0	62
Pay at movie R=	44%	54%	77%	88%	100%
Chiding	0	0	43	yes*	yes*
Next time	62	43	22	43	19
It's my treat	21	43	28	36	38
Invitation R=	100%	85%	83%	100%	100%
White lie	70	91	72	75	71
Explain honestly	10	9	24	13	10
Hint at inability	50	55	24	13	10
Another time	0	73	28	25	10

*The strategy in question occurs in this group. Figures are unavailable.

in the Arab group and that the non-use of this strategy appears to be transferred to the English of both ELI groups and that these groups contrast somewhat in this respect with the behavior of the Anglo groups. Even so, it is unlikely that avoidance of sarcasm would lead to pragmatic failure in communication with English speakers. (In fact, a case could be made that attempts at using sarcasm in the L-2 would lead to a higher potential for pragmatic failure than non-use would.)

The incidence of the *Softener* strategy, as in the KEEP THE DOG COMPANY SCENARIO, reveals interesting and potentially important differences between the three native Arabic groups on the one hand and the Anglo groups on the other. Notice that the Arab group does not use softeners at all and the two ELI groups make very little use of them as compared with the Anglo groups. It may be useful to explicitly teach Arab learners the Softener strategy, as its relative lack in the ELI groups could presumably lead to pragmatic failure in communication with native English speakers.

There is a potential for pragmatic failure that may result from differences in the various groups' use of the *Frank explanation* strategy. This may be especially acute for the AUC/ELI group in the KEEP THE DOG COMPANY SCENARIO because, not only is there limited use of Softeners, but this limited use is coupled with a rather high instance of Frank explanations as well. As was the case in the LOCKSMITH SCENARIO, it is interesting to note the discrepancy between the native-language behavior of the Arab group and the L-2 behavior of the AUC/ELI group. Although the Frank explanation strategy occurs fairly frequently (52%) in the L-2, it is rather disfavored (only 15%) in the native Arabic. In other words, the AUC/ELI group is using a potentially unsuccessful strategy that is relatively little used in Arabic and whose occurrence in English does not appear to be a result of transfer of native-language strategy.

The use of *Partial compliance* as a type of refusal, as in the KEEP THE DOG COMPANY SCENARIO, occurs relatively infrequently in the Arab group (20%). Its relatively low incidence in the AUC/ELI group (22%) may be the result of transfer. Since it occurs far more frequently in the two Anglo groups (55% and 40%, respectively), it may be useful to teach this strategy explicitly. Note, by the way, that the USC/ELI group (47%) conforms more closely to the Anglo patterns than to either the AUC/ELI or the Arab group.

Also in connection with the KEEP THE DOG COMPANY SCENARIO, the *Beg forgiveness* strategy, totally absent in the Anglo groups, occurs in 25% of the refusals of the Arab group and in 22% of the AUC/ELI refusals, where it appears to result from transfer. Here again, the USC/ELI conforms closely (only 6%) to the Anglo pattern. Though its use in the L-2 would probably not be problematical, learners might be taught to choose other strategies.

The *Chiding* strategy, found in 43% of the AUC/ELI refusals in the PAY AT THE MOVIE SCENARIO, probably results from transfer of an Arabic pattern. It does not occur at all in the Anglo data and, since Anglos may find it to be offensive, learners might best be advised to avoid it.

As far as the INVITATION SCENARIO is concerned, the two ELI groups use the *White Lie* strategy approximately as often as the Anglo groups and therefore may not have to be taught this. However, in the same scenario, the AUC/ELI group has a higher propensity (24%) than the others to resort to *Honest explanations* and should perhaps be taught to avoid such frankness (as the USC/ELI seems to have done). Note, by the way, that this relatively high incidence of Honest explanations does not appear to be a matter from transfer from Arabic, since the Arab group employs this strategy in only 10% of its refusals.

Refusing through *Hinting at inability* is a strategy not much used by either ELI group (24% and 13%, respectively). Since the Anglo groups use it more than twice as often (50% and 55%, respectively), it may be useful for Arab learners to learn this option.

CONCLUSIONS AND APPLICATIONS

It is important for learners of English as a second language to be able to turn down requests, invitations, and offers, when they need to do so, lest they be put into a position of having to accede to requests they would prefer not to comply with. At the same time, in view of the risk that, in refusing requests or declining invitations, there is a potential for threatening the "face" of one's interlocutor, it is important to adopt refusal strategies that do not unnecessarily or unintentionally offend.

In some cases, Arabic learners of English in the sample studied choose pragmatically inappropriate refusal strategies in their L-2. One such example would include Chiding as Refusal in the PAY AT THE MOVIE SCENARIO, as in:

(76) Don't make me mad; keep your money with you

a strategy which is appropriate in Arabic but not English.

In other cases, the pragmatically inappropriate strategies are not transferred from the native language. For example, even though brutally frank explanations are rare in the native Arabic data, respondents in the KEEP THE DOG COMPANY SCENARIO gave replies such as:

(77) No, I am sorry, and I prefer sitting in my home
alone than take care of your dog

Or, even though the White Lie strategy is available to speakers of both languages, one respondent in the INVITATION TO CLUB SCENARIO did not use a white lie but instead frankly answered:

(78) I can't stand them. Excuse me please, I won't come with you.

In another instance, in the DINNER DISH SCENARIO, one subject replied:

(79) The doctor told me not to eat fish for a week

a white lie which the raters in Stevens (1988) found to be pragmatically unacceptable because the excuse given was judged to be implausible.

In other words, in these cases, strategies available in the native Arabic would, if only they were transferred into English, be successful pragmatically. The learners' failure to follow the same strategies they might follow in their native language may stem simply from their lack of familiarity with the specific English formulas that they require, not from any real preference for a different refusal strategy.

Quite possibly these learners do not need to be explicitly taught strategies since the strategies themselves are frequently common to the two languages and there may be a good deal of positive pragmatic transfer from Arabic to English. However, they do need to be taught the specific linguistic forms required for conveying those strategies.

Among the linguistic forms that learners might find useful for refusals are:
(1) softeners (e.g. *I'm afraid I can't, I really don't know, etc.)*;
(2) formulas such as: *I'd like to, but .../...* or *Well, I really don't .../...*;
(3) offers of options, such as: *Perhaps you could .../..., Maybe you could try .../..., Can you .../... ?* or *Have you tried .../... ?* ;
(4) a more proficient use of modals and conditionals, so as not to be ambiguous to the point of even sounding as if they are agreeing to the request. For example, they might avoid saying *I will be glad to do that for you* , when what is intended is *I'd like to, but .../....* Or instead of producing *I can do that if I have time* , they might say *I might be able to do that if I have time* or *I could do that for you if I had time but .../...*, if that is what is truly/really intended/meant;
(5) formulas that hint at inability by "shifting blame," as it were, to a perhaps even unspecified agent or cause, such as *I'm afraid I can't* or *Well, I really can't* ;
(6) various types of multiple strategies, including:
(a) blame-shifting plus postponement (e.g. *I'm afraid I can't. Maybe another day .*);
(b) a compliment plus apology plus a white lie as an excuse (e.g. *That's really a good .../..., but I'm sorry, I can't today* or *That's really a good .../..., but unfortunately I'm busy ;*

(c) an apology plus a disclaimer of ability plus an offer of other options (e.g. *Well, I'm sorry, I can't, but have you thought of asking So-and-So ?* or *Well, I'm sorry, I can't, but have you thought of doing such-and-such ?* ;

(d) a hedged acceptance with a hedged disclaimer of ability, such as *I'll try, but I'm not sure if I can ;*

(7) tactful or euphemistic re-formulations in the negative of points of view that would have more unpleasant connotations if stated positively, as for example:

(a) in place of saying *I feel sick* , to say *I'm [really] not feeling well ;*

(b) not *I hate him* , but *He and I [really] don't get along ;*

(c) not *I can't stand this kind of food* , but *That looks good; let me take just a little; I want to try some of those other things too* .

Through the use of these and similar formulas and strategies it is hoped that Arab learners will be helped to accomplish their communicative goals while at the same time avoiding refusal strategies that might potentially lead to pragmatic failure.

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NOTES

[1] This paper deals only with overt refusals. It does not discuss overt agreement, where there is no intention of compliance, i.e. saying "Yes!" when "No!" is intended. Nor does it deal with strategies such as the use of *bukra* in Arabic (or its English near-equivalent, "Tomorrow!") as a polite refusal (see Stevens 1991b).

[2] In an earlier study (Stevens, 1988), a panel of judges employing a rating scale was utilized to assess the acceptability of non-native responses in terms of pragmalinguistic failure and sociopragmatic failure.

[3] Learners of Arabic as a second language should be aware that such responses may be sociopragmatically inappropriate in Arabic.

[4] Note that a reference, even veiled, to inability to comply with a request (e.g. "I wish I could") puts the blame for the refusal on outside forces over which S has no control, thereby relieving him/her of some responsibility.

[5] In the earlier study (Stevens, 1988), the judges rated frank explanations in the AUC/ELI data as instances of sociopragmatic failure. Although the frank explanation strategy is also used by native speakers (especially the South Carolina group in the present study), native speaker responses in the two studies were not rated in terms of pragmatic failure.

[6] It could be the case that some respondents, to avoid giving offense, would accept the food, but would not eat any, i.e., without refusing in words, they would in fact refuse in deeds. Other respondents might accept the food and eat it, in which case their behavior would not be a refusal in any sense.

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APPENDIX A
ENGLISH INSTRUMENT ITEMS

(Note: The instrument distributed to subjects contained 15 items. Only items discussed in the present paper are included here.)

Directions: In the following pages, you will read a number of descriptions of various types of social situations in which you might find yourself. In each case, assume that the other person in the situation is an English speaker who does not understand Arabic well. Please let me know as best you can what you would say, if anything, in each of the situations described. Please remember to use the exact words you think you would use. Try to make your answer as complete as it would be in a real situation.

(Example) A stranger stops you on Tahrir Square and asks you how to get to the Hilton Hotel.

The stranger says: Excuse me, how do I get to the Hilton Hotel from here?

You say: See that building over there? That's the hotel. You can get there by going around the square this way, but be careful of the traffic.

(1) You are home alone, preparing a big dinner for a group of friends whom you have invited to your home. You expect them to arrive in about 30 minutes or so. Another friend telephones to say that a thief has stolen his wallet and keys right in front of his house. Your friend asks you to bring a locksmith right away to put a new lock in the door. It would take more than an hour.

After explaining what happened, your friend says: So, that's what happened. Look,could you go get a locksmith right away and bring him over to my house to put in a new lock? I'm afraid to go out myself, because the guy that stole my keys might come back and get into my apartment.

You say:

(2) You are a student. You are working on a course project which is due in a week. It will require about an hour of work in the library.

There is a student in your class who is not a very hardworking student, but who is a pleasant person with whom you and your classmates enjoy having lunch occasionally.

One day, your classmate asks you for a favor and says:

Classmate: I wonder if you could do me a big favor. As long as you're going to be in the library doing your project, do you think you would be able to look up the materials I need for my project at the same time? I'd really appreciate it.

You say:

(3) You and your next door neighbor get along well and visit back and forth occasionally and often take care of one another's apartment (watering the plants, etc.) when one of you goes away for a few days.

Your neighbor has just recently got a dog which you do not like at all. In fact, you hate it; you really despise it, especially since it jumps all over you and even tries to lick your face.

Your neighbor is about to go away for five days and asks you to take care of the apartment. After explaining about the trip and asking you to take care of the plants as usual, the neighbor makes another request:

Neighbor: Besides taking care of the plants and flowers this time, could you stay with the dog for a while each days so that it doesn't get lonely? It's such a friendly dog!

You say:

(4) A very dear friend of yours is giving a dinner in your honor and several of your friends are there too. Your friend has gone to a lot of trouble to prepare a special dish for you that she is sure you will enjoy. The very thought of eating the dish she has prepared especially for you seems disgusting to you and makes you feel ill. Your friend starts to put some of the food on your plate.
You say:

(5) You have gone with a friend to see a film. To make things easier, you have paid for both of you. Your friend now wants to pay his/her half of the cost and is handing you the money.
Friend: Here's my share!
You say:

(6) A classmate or colleague at work invites you to go to the club with him/her and another friend of his/hers this afternoon. You like your classmate or colleague but you do not at all enjoy being with this other person.
Classmate/colleague: How would you like to go with me to the club this afternoon? I'm going to meet So-and-so there to go swimming and then we'll get something to eat. It will be a lot of fun.
You say:

APPENDIX B

ARABIC INSTRUMENT ITEMS

الاجابة على الاسئلة: فى الصفحات التالية ستقرأ وصفا من المواقف الاجتماعية التى تجد فيها نفسك .

ارجو ان تحاول قدر الامكان أن تستخدم الكلمات و العبارات التى قد تستخدمها فعلا فى مثل هذا الموقف . وأرجو أن يكون ردك كاملا .

مثال : اوقفك شخص غريب عن المدينة فى ميدان التحرير وسألك عن كيفية الوصول الى فندق النيل هيلتون .

الغريب : لو سمحت، ازاى أقدر أروح فندق النيل هيلتون من هنا؟

انت ممكن ترد: شايف المبنى اللى هناك دا،دا النيل هيلتون . ممكن تلف من هنا بس خلى بالك من العربيات .

المواقف

(١) أنت فى البيت تعد العشاء لمجموعة من الأصدقاء ،دعوتها للعشاء فى بيتك المتوقع وصولهم بعد حوالى نصف ساعة . فى نفس اللحظة اتصل بك صديق آخر وأبلغك أن حافظته ومفاتيحه قد سرقت امام بيته ويطلب منك احضار أحد العمال لفتح الباب وتركيب كولون جديد و المتوقع أن تستغرق هذه المسألة حوالى ساعة.
بعد شرح كل ماوقع .

الصديق: دا اللى حصل ياسيدى تقدر تجيب لى بتاع كوالين حالا علشان يعمل كولون جديد أنا خايف أروح أنا أحسن الحرامى اللى سرق المفاتيح ييجى يسرق الشقة .

أنت حترد:

(٢) أنت طالب تعمل فى مشروع لأحد المقررات الذى يجب أن تقدمه خلال أسبوع ويتطلب منك هذا المشروع العمل حوالى ساعة فى المكتبة أحد الطلاب فى فصلك معروف عنه عدم الجدية كطالب لكنه انسان لطيف استمتعت عدة مرات بتناول طعام الغذاء معه ومع بعض زملائكما.

جاء هذا الزميل اليك يطلب منك معروفا.

الزميل: يا ترى تقدر تعمل فى جميل كبير مش حانساه مادام حتروح المكتبة عشان تعمل المشروع . تفتكر تقدر تدور لى معاك على المواد اللى أنا محتاجها فى المشروع بتاعى .

أنت حترد :

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(٣) أنت وجارك الذى يسكن فى الشقة المجاورة على علاقة طيبة وتتبادلان الزيارات وعادة مايتولى أحدكما العناية بشقة الآخر عند سفره . اشترى صديقا مؤخرا كلبا لاتحبه اطلاقا فهو دائم القفز عليك ويحاول كثيرا ان يلعق وجهك مما يصيبك بالقرف . جارك على وشك السفر لمدة خمسة أيام وبعد أن شرح لك طبيعة هذه السفرية طلب منك العناية بالنباتات كالعادة ثم طلب منك طلبا آخر .

الجار: بالاضافة للزهور و النباتات ممكن تقعد مع الكلب شوية كل يوم عشان مايحسش بالوحدة، انت عارف انه عشرى قوى .

أنت حترد:

(٤) صديقة عزيزة جدا تقيم حفلة عشاء تكريما لك وسيحضرها كثير من أصدقائك . تجشمت صديقتك كثيرا من العناء لتعد لك نوعا خاصا من الطعام تصورت أنك سوف تستطيبه . بدا لك من الوهلة الأولى أن تناول هذا النوع الذى أعدته خصيصا من أجلك يصيبك بالقرف والغثيان ولكنها بدأت تضع بعضا منه فى طبقك .

أنت حتقول:

(٥) ذهبت مع أحد أصدقائك لمشاهدة فيلم ودفعت لكما أنتما الاثنين ويود هذا الصديق أو الصديقة أن يدفع لك الآن نصف التكاليف ويمد يده لك بالنقود .

الصديق: دا نصيبى فى الحساب

أنت حترد :

(٦) دعاك أحد زملائك للنادى واصطحب معه أحد أصدقائه . رغم ارتياحك لزميلك فلم تحس بارتياح لوجود صديقه .

الزميل / الزميلة: ايه رأيك نروح النادى النهاردة بعد الظهر ،وحاقابل هناك فلان وفلان ونعوم وبعد كدا نروح ناكل حاجة ؟

أنت حترد :

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